



**FOREIGN
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Daily Report

East Europe

FBIS-EEU-89-062

Monday

3 April 1989

Daily Report

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FBIS-EEU-89-062

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CSSR's Johanes Speaks to Press, Leaves 31 Mar
AU3103144789 Sofia BTA in English
1345 GMT 31 Mar 89

[Text] Sofia, March 31 (BTA)—Mr Jaromir Johanes, minister of foreign affairs of Czechoslovakia, left Bulgaria today satisfied with the results of his three-day visit here. The objects of the visit were attained, he said at a press conference, underlining Bulgaria's and Czechoslovakia's desire for an even closer and more efficient cooperation both to the interest of the two countries and the socialist community as a whole.

Mr Jaromir Johanes highly appreciated the development of Czechoslovak-Bulgarian relations.

He pointed out that during the talks he had with the Bulgarian leaders the two sides showed mutual interest in an extended exchange of views and experience in the implementation of restructuring and democratization in the two countries.

Dwelling on business and economic relations, Mr Jaromir Johanes underlined that they develop very well. Czechoslovakia is the third biggest partner of Bulgaria in trade, the annual volume of which is more than one milliard roubles' worth. In the last five years it has been increased by 43 per cent. What is most important, cooperated production activity accounts for 47 per cent of the total turnover. The cooperation in culture, education, science and other fields is also good.

Of course, this does not mean that there are no further possibilities to improve it, the Czechoslovak foreign minister said. He announced that an agreement for making better use of modern and more sophisticated forms of cooperation was reached, mainly in the field of the economy. We believe our efforts should be aimed at overcoming certain non-fulfilment in the turnover, better discipline in the fulfilment of obligations with regard to the quantity and the quality of the commodities exchanged. It is to the interest of both countries to improve the conditions and the possibilities of carrying on exchange in tourism, said Mr Jaromir Johanes.

Speaking about the international policy problems discussed during the talks, Mr Jaromir Johanes underlined that the positions of the two countries are absolutely the same, both with regard to the contemporary international situation and its main trends and with regard to what must be done.

We assess the results of the Vienna follow-up conference as positive and attach great importance to the Vienna CFE negotiations for disarmament and strengthening of confidence and security, Mr Johanes said, pointing out that the unilateral disarmament measures of the USSR,

Czechoslovakia, Bulgaria and the other socialist countries have created a good atmosphere for these negotiations. We believe that such constructive steps could be taken by the NATO member-countries as well, Czechoslovakia's foreign minister pointed out.

Replying to a question, Mr Jaromir Johanes told about Czechoslovakia's initiative for calling a meeting of the leaders of the neighbouring countries in Prague to discuss problems of the protection of environment. Stressing the seriousness of the ecological problem reflected in the final document of the Vienna follow-up conference, he said that these decisions must be realized, a good opportunity for which is the forthcoming forum in Sofia this autumn.

Former RFE Employees Criticize Service
AU3103192789 Sofia BTA in English
0713 GMT 31 Mar 89

["R.F.E. Seeks To Erode Socialist Society"]

[Text] Sofia, March 31 (BTA)—Last night the Bulgarian television aired an interview of Mr Pavel Glavusanov and Mrs Marusya Stoleva, until recently employed by the U.S.-financed Radio Free Europe, with the journalists Mr Nencho Khranov of the Bulgarian News Agency, Mr Petur Bochukov of the RABOTNICHESKO DELO daily and Mr Yavor Tsakov of the Television and Radio Committee.

Mr Glavusanov spoke about the relationships inside Radio Free Europe, about the gossip, scandal and bickering, about the inadmissibly arrogant attitude of the radio station's American administration towards the editors. "Even the pettiest American bureaucrat can boss the editors around," he pointed out.

The change in Bulgaria along the line of openness and democratization were singled out as a major factor of the two R.F.E. employees' return. "We have been following closely the Bulgarian press, and the things I have been reading over the last few months gave me the strength and the confidence to take what you must agree is quite a decisive step," he summed it up. Asked about a B.B.C. interview in which R.F.E. Vice President William Marsh said he had his doubts about Mr Glavusanov and Mrs Stoleva's decision not to give notice to the radio station's administration of their intention to repatriate, Mr Glavusanov said that owing to his disputes with the Bulgarian and the American managers of Radio Free Europe on purely professional matters (he had been disciplined on two occasions, and unidentified persons had recently threatened him and his car had been followed), they had chosen a more discreet way of departing.

Mrs Marusya Stoleva confirmed what her husband and colleague said and told that especially during the last two years, the mood in the Bulgarian service of Radio Free

Europe had been spoiled to such an extent that at least the people with whom she had had closer relationships had frankly admitted that they were utterly averse to go to work.

Mr Glavusanov said he left Bulgaria nearly seven years ago for reasons related to personal failures and to the grudge which a person in authority had against him.

He went on to relate the way in which he had been appointed to Radio Free Europe. Before he could join the radio station, he was debriefed at the U.S. Defence Intelligence Agency compound in the Munich district of Giesing, opposite the U.S. McGraw Military Barracks. The D.I.A. colonel who interrogated him was interested in military matters, in questions concerning Bulgaria's civil defence and health service and in details about the Pirogov emergency hospital in Sofia. Besides this, he inquired about any state security officers, members of the Armed Forces and journalists that Mr Glavusanov might have known, in a word, "about things which had nothing to do with journalism", Mr Glavusanov pointed out.

He learned the news that he was appointed to R.F.E. from that same military intelligence colonel.

Mr Glavusanov told about the methods and produced a number of examples of the selection and presentation of news material which the radio station needs in pursuit of its policy and which is anything but objective.

The news and the commentaries on the socialist countries have been selected so as to produce a negative impact on the public and to incite it against the legitimate governments in these states.

The positive changes in international relations have had only a superficial effect on the idiom and the style of the broadcasts. "The idiom has changed and the style has changed but the essence has remained the same. It cannot be different because so much money is outlaid to keep up this line. That is why Radio Free Europe is there," says the journalist formerly employed at that radio station. He went on to tell about the recently intensified practice of telephone interviews, for which select persons are approached from the Munich headquarters.

Only statements critical of Bulgaria go on the air. Mr Glavusanov says that a phone call, in which a Bulgarian citizen introduced himself as an "average Bulgarian" and shared his impressions of R.F.E.'S indifference to the improvement of the situation in Bulgaria and of its marked interest in whipping up social tension, was never broadcast.

"On the basis of my experience, I have arrived at the conclusion that they are interested in popularising all phenomena in the countries at which the broadcasts are targeted which in one degree or another assert the elements of the Western social model. They are trying to popularize these elements. At the same time, the idea is to set one stratum of the population against another," Mr Glavusanov indicated.

He told about the anti communist stand taken by Radio Free Europe during the Rome trial of Sergey Antonov with a view to denigrating Bulgaria, as well as about the pro-Turkish slanders concerning the condition of Bulgarian Muslims.

The former employee of Radio Free Europe told in detail about the information which that radio station gathers for the American intelligence agencies. On the basis of analyses of Bulgarian press reports and of interviews with Bulgarian defectors, special reports are prepared for the Central Intelligence Agency, the Pentagon and other U.S. departments.

Characterizing his ex-colleagues at the R.F.E. Bulgarian service, Mr Glavusanov said they shared, all without exception, what he called "an utterly inconceivable, as far as I am concerned, and a sort of pathological egoism. It was something I never got used to, and I don't think I would have ever got used to it. It is this egoism that motivates the social, the professional and the political, if any, stance of those people. This egoism underlies their position in life."

Phone lines were open during the televised interview and a number of viewers called in to ask specific questions about the essence of Radio Free Europe as a mouthpiece of antisocialist and anticommunist propaganda. Owing to the lack of time on the programme, the questions will be answered in telecasts in the coming days.

President Husak Released From Hospital
LD3103165789 Prague CTK in English
1530 GMT 31 Mar 89

[Text] Prague March 31 (CTK)—Czechoslovak President Gustav Husak has been released from hospital, the office of the Czechoslovak president announced today.

USSR Elections 'Successful on the Whole'
AU3103165989 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak
30 Mar 89 p 7

[Moscow dispatch by Vladimir Jancura and Julius Loe-rincz: "First Lessons in Democracy; Viewing the Preliminary Results of Elections in the USSR"]

[Text] The partial results of Sunday's [26 March] elections are reaching the Soviet capital night and day, and the Central Election Commission is checking, comparing, adding, and publishing them on a continual basis. A most colorful picture is gradually emerging—that of an event which can be termed an exceptional landmark in the country's history, one that is as multifaceted as the Soviet Union itself and as varied as the world of human interests and longings.

The very first election results have already provided answers to many questions, but they perhaps have also posed even greater riddles: how to explain, for instance, the difference in voters' participation in the secret ballots in various oblasts and regions of the USSR? Whereas 96-97 percent of registered voters voted in the Soviet Central Asian republics, and about the same percentage in Azerbaijan, the figure for Armenia was less than 72 percent, and for Yerevan only 53 percent—in fact, in one of Yerevan's constituencies less than one-third of all registered voters came out to vote, which was virtually a boycott of the elections.

What do these figures represent? Is it the varying "local" success or failure of restructuring, a different moral-political situation? Or do they perhaps reflect the historical and cultural peculiarities of individual regions, their different approaches to ideological work, and the different levels of the population's legal awareness?

All this will have to be analyzed.

Another example: The elections will have to be repeated in 168 of the 1,500 constituencies which had nominated only one or two candidates for deputy, for none of these attained the required majority. This means that the entire election process will have to be repeated, starting with the nomination of candidates by the working and citizens collectives.

The first commentaries in the Soviet press point out that the candidates who were not elected include many prominent officials of local party and state agencies, such as first secretaries of party oblast committees, chairmen of

party executive committees, or chairmen of the executive committees of party oblast soviets. As a rule, the officials who were not elected were the only candidates in their constituency and thus had no opposition. "The organizers of elections," the newspaper IZVESTIYA wrote in this context, "obviously believed it safer, in their inertia, to leave such candidates for the deputy's mandate free of any competition. But our society is no longer the society of yesterday, and in many places the people regarded this step as a challenge to democracy."

Let us also add that the voters crossed out the names of such candidates. On the other hand, in the interest of the truth it must also be noted that this did not happen everywhere—in many constituencies most voters voted for the only candidate on the list, even if he was a party functionary or a representative of the state apparatus. This was obviously a result of the candidate's personal authority and of the actual results of his work, and not of the authority of his position.

Nevertheless, quite a number of observers have drawn the same conclusion: i.e., that the greatest shortcoming of the new law on elections of USSR deputies is probably that while the original draft specified that every ballot list must carry the name of at least two candidates, its present interpretation permits the absence of an alternative during the election process. The categorical formulation has been dropped only due to the national discussion, and the USSR Supreme Soviet is sure to revert to it in the very next adjustment of the election system.

During the Sunday elections, the editors of the Soviet PRAVDA noticed a most interesting thing: "In the past even the best deputies to the Supreme Soviet knew only too well that the 'sieve' is at the top, and only there; they could thus consider themselves elected from the very moment of being nominated as a candidate 'from above.' But this time every candidate had to wage an uncompromising struggle for every vote, which meant that, necessarily, their main worry was how 'those below' viewed them. This is a most promising phenomenon."

Another thing: It has become obvious that, under the conditions of democratic elections, one can no longer make do with the traditional forms and methods of agitation and propaganda work. According to reports now reaching Moscow, it can be deduced that in some places the activists from various so-called informal associations have been more inventive in the election campaign than the activists of party and social organizations. This, too, has predetermined the voting results—which is why there are so few workers among the elected deputies, for instance in Moscow.

Despite everything, the course of elections was successful on the whole. This is indicated by the relatively high voter participation, which in most constituencies amounted to 80-85 percent. The large majority of elected deputies are Communists. The elections were, above all,

a great school of democracy—the first lessons in democracy. They were also a source of realistic experience, which will make it possible to further develop the process of democratization and of restructuring the political system in the USSR.

CPCZ Central Committee Session Continues

Speakers Address Session

LD3103091789 Prague Domestic Service in Czech
1700 GMT 30 Mar 89

[Excerpts] Today at the 13th session of the Czechoslovak Communist Party [CPCZ] Central Committee, a report was delivered by Milos Jakes, general secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee, on the party's activity since the 12th session of the Central Committee and on its further tasks. [passage omitted]

Jan Fojtik, member of the Presidium and secretary of the Central Committee, delivered a report by the party Central Committee Presidium on the tasks of the Czechoslovak educational system in the conditions of the restructuring of society. [passage omitted]

In the afternoon, the 13th session of the CPCZ Central Committee continued with a debate. The proceedings were chaired by Karel Urbanek, member of the Central Committee Presidium.

In his speech, Comrade Zdenek Ceska addressed the problem of higher education. He highlighted the importance of the personality of the higher education teacher who, if he is a leading expert in his field, wins the trust and authority of his charges. He spoke in favor of creating genuinely creative activity in schools, of greater autonomy and responsibility for them. He criticized low expectations of students, which gives rise to a tendency for mediocrity among them. Greater differentiation between students must be promoted in practice, according to their actual results.

The stand taken in the report by the Central Committee Presidium on the educational system was supported by Comrade Jana Synkova [Czech minister of education, youth, and physical training]. She pointed out that in the course of building a socialist society, a marked democratization of the system of education and upbringing in our country has occurred. She reported on changes being implemented by the Czech Ministry of Education, Youth, and Physical Training aimed at improving the upbringing and education of children, pupils, and students. The growing demands on the work of schools must be matched, she said, by the training of teachers, the development of the material and technological base of schools, and the provision of modern equipment.

Comrade Otto Liska spoke about the experience gained in the East Bohemian region by applying the principles of socialist self-management and the election of directors. The existing preparation, course, and results of the

elections, he said, are not yet producing what was expected, particularly in activating the labor collectives and in speeding up changes in the economy. The demand arises for the party bodies and for Communists in the different departments and in economic management to step up political organization and ideological education work at every workplace.

Comrade Eleonora Hvizdosova dealt with the upbringing of young people for manual occupations. The success of the process of education and upbringing, she noted, depends on a unified approach by the teacher, foreman, and tutor. She drew on the example of the secondary technical training center at the 29 August rubber works in Partizanske to demonstrate the need for good interpersonal relations and consistent work with apprentices at the center who then go on to successfully adapt to employment.

Comrade Frantisek Fiser focused on the preparation of young people for manual occupations. He discussed the effectiveness of compulsory 10-year schooling and pointed out some negative consequences of placing 14-year-old pupils in apprenticeships in which they complete their compulsory schooling. He also called for greater social recognition of the work of tutors and specialist training foremen, and for certain changes in the organization of the process of education and upbringing in secondary technical training centers.

Comrade Ludovit Kilar [Slovak minister of education] drew attention to the need to improve the quality and effectiveness of the Communist upbringing of the individual. He discussed the development of the educational system in the Slovak Socialist Republic and pointed out that educational science is not reacting to the new phenomena and problems in the upbringing of young people. The content and forms of this upbringing must be directly linked with life so that the schools fulfill their mission in restructuring society, he said.

Comrade Karel Mracek spoke about the economic results attained in Klatovy District last year, and about the efforts of the working people to fulfill this year's tasks. He stated that a number of comments have been made at sessions of the district party committee and at primary organization meetings about the central management bodies, comments concerned primarily with the need to improve preparation of the plan and to break through the monopoly status of suppliers. In his comments about the preparation of young people for manual occupations, he favored raising the minimum age for entry to training centers by 1 year.

Education is one of the decisive factors in intensifying the development of our society, Comrade Rudolf Hegenbart said. The sums spent on education must be seen as a fundamental and most important investment. Educational methods must be updated according to the needs of society and the level of knowledge, and practical experience must play a more evident part in shaping the

background of school leavers, he said. He also pointed out the need for certain types of education to be administered from a single center—the Ministry of Education, Youth, and Physical Training.

Comrade Vladimir Kunovjanek stated that the future development of society depends primarily on the educational and cultural level of the people. This aspect must also be the focus of attention of the party's educational policy. He dealt with the problem of education toward a world outlook in higher education, whose results are not yet very encouraging. The teaching of Marxism-Leninism is also an essential methodological foundation for studying other subjects, he said.

Comrade Justina Radimska addressed some of the tasks and current shortcomings in apprentice education. She noted that the rudiments of education in this sector do not always correspond to practical life. She used the example of two specialist apprentice centers in the field of chemistry in Melnik District to show that the acceptance of pupils does not match practical requirements, either. In those centers, girls account for two-thirds of the pupils, although after graduating they cannot be employed in the chemical industry in high-risk jobs and in 24-hour shift work.

Comrade Vladimir Krupauer noted that issues of education and upbringing must be viewed from their wider social and economic ramifications. The main principles of the concept of developing the Czechoslovak system of education and upbringing dating back to 1976 have lost none of their relevance and topicality, but there are problems primarily in the operational regulations governing its implementation. Certain principles, however, must be brought closer into line with reality while taking into account the existing practical experience and possibilities and needs of society.

Reports by Jakes, Others Adopted

*LD3103151189 Prague Domestic Service in Czech
1400 GMT 31 Mar 89*

[Text] The 13th session of the CPCZ Central Committee was addressed by 34 comrades, while another 2 addressed the session with comments and questions. Those taking part in the debate fully supported the report on the CPCZ's activity following the 12th session of the Central Committee and its further tasks, which was delivered by Comrade Jakes, and the report by the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium on the tasks of Czechoslovak education in the conditions of restructuring society, which was delivered by Comrade Jan Fojtik. They also spoke in favor of consistently implementing the tasks of the party and of our entire society. The debate enriched the reports with further suggestions and comments which will be discussed by the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium.

The Central Committee then adopted by acclamation a resolution on the tasks of Czechoslovak education in the conditions of restructuring society. It went on to approve: a report on the activity of the CPCZ following the 12th session of the Central Committee and its further tasks delivered by Comrade Milos Jakes, general secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium; a report on the tasks of Czechoslovak education in the conditions of restructuring society delivered by Comrade Jan Fojtik, member of the Presidium and secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee; and the report on the activity of the Presidium, the Secretariat, and the commissions of the CPCZ Central Committee for the period since the 12th session of the CPCZ Central Committee in December 1988.

The Central Committee agreed with the statement of the CPCZ Central Committee on the occasion of the 41st anniversary of victorious February. It addresses all party organs, organizations, and Communists so that they will be able on this basis to strengthen the party's unity and ability and be able to develop mass political work in all strata of society for the benefit of the consistent implementation of the policy of economic and social restructuring. It acknowledged the political-organizational implementation of the conclusions of the 13th session of the CPCZ Central Committee. The Central Committee charged the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium with conveying its greetings to Comrade Gustav Husak and its wishes for his speedy recovery.

Jakes Makes Concluding Address

*LD3103170289 Prague CTK in English
1525 GMT 31 Mar 89*

[Text] Prague March 31 (CTK)—Czechoslovak Communist Party General Secretary Milos Jakes appreciated the unity of the party Central Committee, which is the basis of party unity and united action in the implementation of its policy, in an address concluding a meeting of the party Central Committee today.

The session provided an answer to many topical issues of internal and international political development. This is good for uniting the party's actions and making its stands known to the citizens. This must also be helped by the further improvement of the public flow of information. It will now be the main thing to consistently abide by the adopted conclusions and to energetically and resolutely fulfil the tasks of socio-economic development, restructuring and democratization. Preparations for the 18th congress of the party will continue to be in the centre of attention, the general secretary stated.

He pointed out that the fulfillment of tasks will depend on how the working people and citizens will be mobilized and won over for their support in practical activity. Offensive political work of the party and a high activity and vigour of Communists are essential for this, the general secretary declared.

Human Rights Committee Urges Law on Protests

LD2903014789 Prague CTK in English

1602 GMT 28 Mar 89

[Text] Prague March 28 (CTK)—Czechoslovak Premier Ladislav Adamec has received a letter by the Committee of the Czechoslovak Public for Human Rights and Humanitarian Cooperation saying that the present legislation concerning the freedom of association, the freedom of assembly and the freedom of street parades and demonstrations is inconvenient and proposing to draft a new bill.

The aim of a new bill is to further emphasize the character of Czechoslovakia as a socialist state based on the rule of law and to provide more accurate specification of the boundary between the rights and duties of citizens and to promote their legal certainties, the committee said. Head of the press department of the Czechoslovak Government Presidium Office Miroslav Pavel told CTK that this proposal "is a valuable suggestion within the framework of preparation of a new constitution of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic, which will form a legal base for the modification of civic rights and which is already being worked on by a group of experts including the chairman of the Czechoslovak Government legislative council. Among members of this group is also a representative of the Committee of the Czechoslovak Public. They proceed from a rightful intention to specify more accurately the rights and duties of citizens, both in the Constitution and in laws, including the right of association and assembly, and thus to promote legal certainties of citizens. The Czechoslovak Government will undoubtedly consider the suggestion by the Committee of the Czechoslovak Public for Human Rights and Humanitarian Cooperation in its legislative activity."

Court Decision Against Emigre's Lawsuit Upheld

AU3103134989 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech

30 Mar 89 p 2

["(rp)"]-signed report: "Verdict Upheld"]

[Text] Recently, the editorial office of RUDE PRAVO received the verdict of the municipal district court in

Prague, the court of appeal, which on 7 March upheld the decision of a lower court whereby the demand by Erich Kulka of Israel for a published correction was rejected. In his lawsuit, E. Kulka had demanded a correction to part of an article by Svatopluk Dolejs, "The Ancient Myth Has Been Shattered," which was published in RUDE PRAVO on 31 March 1988. (We wrote in detail about the case on 17 December 1988 in HALO SOBOTA in an article entitled "Long-Distance Lawsuit.")

There is no appeal against this decision.

Soviet Official Arrives on Working Visit

AU3003145289 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech

29 Mar 89 p 2

[CTK report in the "International Relations" column]

[Text] A delegation of the USSR State Committee for Material Reserves, headed by its chairman Fedor Loshchenkov, arrived in Prague on a working visit on Tuesday [28 March].

Herman, Delegation Return From PCI Congress

AU2903095789 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech

25 Mar 89 p 1

["z"]-signed report: "Return of CPCZ Delegation"]

[Text] A delegation of the Czechoslovak Communist Party [CPCZ] headed by Vladimir Herman, candidate member of the Presidium of the CPCZ Central Committee and leading secretary of the South Moravian CPCZ Regional Committee, returned from Italy on Friday [24 March]. The delegation had attended, at the invitation of the Central Committee of the Italian Communist Party [PCI], the 18th PCI Congress.

Interior Ministry Announces Travel Regulations
*LD3103162189 East Berlin ADN International Service
in German 1514 GMT 31 Mar 89*

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—The GDR Interior Ministry press office announces that the interior minister has issued the first executive regulation to the decree of 30 November 1988 on travel abroad by GDR citizens (published in "NEUES DEUTSCHLAND" of 14 December 1988), which comes into force from 1 April 1989. Binding stipulations for the applications of Paragraph 7 of the named decree are laid down with this executive regulation.

In accordance with this, applications for private travel can be made in the case of births, 1 month before the estimated date of birth or up to 3 months after the birth; in the case of deaths, up to 3 months after the death; in the case of need for care, or for multiple journeys; in the case of life-threatening illnesses or deaths of GDR citizens during their stay abroad, or by spouses and the persons named in Paragraph 7 of the decree; by citizens who are due to accompany disabled persons on a private journey insofar as they need to be accompanied; by citizens married to foreigners for trips to their homeland. Furthermore, applications for private trips can be made by aunts, uncles, nieces, and nephews to the spouses of relatives if there are reasons for the journey in accordance with Paragraph 7, Subsection 2, of the decree. This is also valid for the spouses of the person entitled to apply in the case of journeys to the latter's relatives.

The first executive regulation was published on 28 March 1989 in the GDR Legal Gazette, Part 1, No 8, p 119.

Electoral Commission Publishes Announcement
*AU3003142689 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND
in German 29 Mar 89 p 1*

"[After Democratic Discussion Election Proposals Have Been Adopted in 12,777 Public Meetings; Announcement by the Electoral Commission of the Republic]"

[Text] East Berlin (ADN)—According to the reports of the bezirk election offices, by 27 March the respective election proposals were adopted in 12,777 public meetings in the constituencies or local committees of the National Front in communities with only one constituency. Thus, more than 90 percent of the public meetings for decisions on the election proposals, which will be concluded this week, have taken place.

The election proposals submitted by the National Front have been approved by the voters. Only in the village of Neuglobsow, Gransee Kreis, the election proposal submitted for the village assembly was not confirmed; an amended election proposal will be submitted to the public meeting of the local National Front committee for new discussion and decision in the next few days.

At the constituency meetings 113 individual candidates were not approved by the voters, primarily because of social inactivity or because of repeated unjustified absences from election meetings. In 151 cases the sequence of the candidates on the election proposal was changed in agreement with the person having the mandate.

To date 4,713 electoral commissions have checked, confirmed, and published the election proposals adopted by the public meetings of the National Front committees for the respective people's representative body. The confirmation of the election proposals will be concluded by the responsible 7,787 electoral commissions on schedule by 3 April 1989.

To date 117 foreign citizens were nominated, mainly by the Free German Trade Union Federation and the Free German Youth as candidates for kreis assemblies (12), city assemblies (74), city district assemblies (18), and village assemblies (13).

As of the required date, 20 March 1989, foreign citizens have been granted the opportunity to register in the voters' lists if they so wish. To date 9,924 foreign citizens have taken this opportunity, 4,057 of them at the local councils and 5,867 in the independent constituencies.

The electoral commissions decided on the establishment of 965 special polling stations.

Academician Comments on SPD-SED Dialogue
*LD3103101689 East Berlin ADN International Service
in German 1623 GMT 30 Mar 89*

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—Professor Otto Reinhold, rector of the Academy of Social Sciences in the Socialist Unity Party [SED] Central Committee, has granted ADN the following interview.

Question: On 23 March the Social Democratic Party [SPD] Basic Values FRG Commission adopted and has since disseminated to the Western mass media a statement in which it expressed disappointment about the SED's treatment of the document "The Battle of the Ideologies and Joint Security." What is your view on this?

Answer: In my opinion, the statement is extremely strange. Claims in the statement concerning the SED's policies are strange. The way of going about things is also strange. In mid-April we will have our next joint discussion with the Basic Values Commission, at which, as agreed, we also want to discuss the effect of the document, including problems and contradictions. The current media campaign must necessarily prejudice a businesslike discussion. One must assume that the purpose is to put us on the spot.

Most strange, however, are some of the claims made in this paper by the Basic Values Commission. It is stated, for example, that we are increasingly restricting dialogue in the GDR and are not sufficiently ensuring that the document is disseminated, and that we are not providing adequate information or adhering to the stipulations formulated in the joint document.

These claims have nothing in common with reality.

Question: Does not this statement represent an attempt to undertake a reevaluation of the joint document, for it makes no mention of the joint struggle for peace?

Answer: In the discussion and the drafting of the document "The Battle of the Ideologies and Joint Security," joint security and maintaining peace are the point of departure and central question for both sides. The indispensable and necessary battle of the ideologies, the joint paper states, should be conducted in such a way that it serves the aim of, at the very least, not hindering the joint struggle for peace.

In the statement now issued by the Basic Values Commission, the peace policy and great activity of the SED and GDR on this issue no longer plays any role whatsoever. Are not the unilateral disarmament measures of the GDR and the many other practical proposals for disarmament and detente not a practical implementation of the joint document? Are not the unilateral reduction of 10,000 soldiers, 600 tanks, and 50 combat aircraft, and the reduction of expenditure on national defense by 10 percent wholly in the spirit of the document?

If we are talking about disappointment, then we are disappointed that the Federal Government and NATO have so far failed to react to this constructively. With the best will, one cannot regard the total ignoring of these vital issues for both German states in the statement by the SPD Basic Values Commission as anything but an attempt to undertake a reevaluation of the joint document.

Question: Does the GDR need to catch up with the FRG regarding the dissemination of this and other important documents?

Answer: The joint document was published in the GDR in NEUES DEUTSCHLAND, in other GDR mass media, in pamphlet form, and in a number of study materials from parties, organizations, and scientific establishments of the GDR. That makes several million copies—more than there are SED members, let alone members of the SPD. On GDR television there was a discussion with Erhard Eppler and Thomas Meyer. Erhard Eppler and other representatives of the SPD appeared in the GDR at dozens of meetings and were allowed to express their opinion there unrestricted. One

will scarcely find one SED party organization in which one or several discussions on this topic have not taken place or are not taking place. In contrast, the same discussion on FRG television, agreed in August 1987, has still not taken place. We are, of course, prepared to institute a comparison with the FRG at any time, in complete awareness of the fact that we are far ahead in this question. I only ask myself: Should we allow the discussion to sink down to such a level, and, what is more, on an unobjective basis?

It would be much better, for example, to see to it that such important documents as the final statement at the Vienna CSCE discussion are published in the FRG mass media. It was printed in the GDR in NEUES DEUTSCHLAND, and it appeared as a pamphlet with a high print run. I know, however, of no newspaper in the FRG where that happened.

Question: The assertion that the dialogue with citizens is becoming more and more restricted in the GDR is strange.

Answer: This assertion is in complete contradiction of the facts. Hardly ever before has there been so much discussion in the GDR on basic questions of the social development of our country and on international processes as there is today. This is taking place in connection with the elections in May this year, in the preparation for the 12th SED Congress, and in many other forms. The Writers Congress and many other events are part of this. I haven't even mentioned the discussion in the SED. We are discussing the further conduct of economic and social policy, socialist democracy, the relationship between the plan and market, and a host of other questions, including the successes and shortcomings in our development.

We are conducting the dialogue in an essentially broader and more effective form than was ever done in the Federal Republic. One asks oneself what yardsticks the Basic Values Commission is using here. One has the impression that only a few certain groups are recognized by it as partners for dialogue, that the implementation of the laws of our state are automatically viewed as a "restriction on dialogue."

We are unconditionally in favor of a civilized clash of opinion, but we should conduct it on an objective basis and in appropriate forms. Comrade Erich Honecker stressed again in his talk with Johannes Rau at the Leipzig fair that our party assesses highly, in the past as much as today, the joint document "The Battle of Ideologies and Joint Security". This will continue to be the case. From this standpoint we will do everything to lead objective discussion further, but will oppose it being interpreted one-sidedly or used for aims which contradict its spirit and objectives.

Grosz To Visit USSR's Subcarpathia 3 April
*LD0204170689 Budapest Domestic Service
in Hungarian 1630 GMT 2 Apr 89*

[Text] Karoly Grosz will visit Subcarpathia. The general secretary of the Hungarian Socialist Workers Party was invited by the Central Committee of the Soviet brother party. Tomorrow afternoon, in Uzhgorod [Ungvar], Karoly Grosz will meet with the leading figures of the political and social life of the region, as well as with representatives of the Subcarpathian Magyars.

He will also visit Mukachevo [Munkacs] and Beregovo [Beregszasc].

According to official data, there are some 170,000 Soviet citizens of Hungarian nationality.

MSZMP Central Committee Meets 29 March

Debates Role of Press
*LD2903224589 Budapest MTI in English
2018 GMT 29 Mar 89*

[Text] Budapest, March 29 (MTI)—Several contributions concerned the relationship between the state and the press. Minister of State Imre Pozsgay said that the state influences the press through the Constitution and the press law, but the mass media are also expected to control the state. A socialist state should serve the people in every respect, including publicity, he said. The current debate on the role of the press is partly focussed on how the leading mass media should serve the interests of the entire nation. Several members of the Central Committee took the stand that the mass media cannot be broken down by the different interest organizations, but that their entire activity should represent the government's line. It was pointed out that parliamentary supervision over the central media might also move to the forefront.

In connection with the relationship between the party and the press, it was stressed that, by ceasing the previous erroneous practice of press management, the HSWP should strive to influence the media by political means.

Katalin Radics urged the party press to genuinely dispute views which are unacceptable to party members.

Mr Pozsgay said the party press should be an autonomous workshop exercising control over internal party life. At places lacking party press independent of the party leadership, party democracy has little chance, he said, referring to Engels.

In his reply to the contributions, Janos Berecz agreed that the press is not being controlled for the present, and added that it is not even necessary as only long-term cooperation with the press is viable.

Following, the body decided by unanimous vote to commission the drafting committee to include the comments of the contributors in the documents, and adopted the report and the summary of the debate.

With regard to Janos Lukacs's report, several contributors spoke about the necessity of party unity. Minister of State Rezso Nyers pointed out the excessively frequent references to its lack, possibly reflecting the wish of the old monolithic unity. He spoke out for the emergence of different currents.

Most contributions were concerned with the position to be taken by the party's leading body concerning party organizations at places of work and residential districts.

How the parties should operate in the fields of public administration, jurisdiction, the Army and the police was the subject of several contributions. Istvan Horvath, minister of the interior, pointed out that under the conditions of a constitutional state, party affiliation cannot be forbidden in such organizations. Defence Minister Ferenc Karpati took the stand that the HSWP should naturally retain its place within the Army, but the operation of other parties is also possible. HSWP General Secretary Karoly Grosz stated that no political organization can be banned from any place of work, including the armed bodies. Decision on this issue should first be taken by the Central Committee and then by parliament, as the question is also a major part of the party law under preparation.

Mr Grosz stressed the view that the Central Committee is now taking one of its most important political decisions by creating conditions for the multi-party system. He said that failing to make this move, determined by social processes and forced by reality, could possibly entail more serious consequences.

The general secretary voiced his conviction that the HSWP will remain the strongest party in Hungarian public life. He warned to take care not to repeat for the third time the error of using the party's strong position to wipe out all forces reluctant to adjust.

Finally, Mr Grosz stated that setting up the structure of political pluralism cannot be the duty of the HSWP. For the present, the party is only expected to create the possibility for forming parties.

Following, the Central Committee commissioned the drafting committee to finalize the draft policy statement in consideration of the debate, and adopted unanimously Mr Lukacs's report and the oral supplement.

Then the body turned to deal with the preparations for the 12th Congress of the Communist Youth Union of Hungary (KISZ) and the directions of the further development of KISZ.

In elaboration of the written report, Janos Lukacs drew attention to the decisive importance of young people for successful social reform. It is already clear that the youth supports those who not only offer them reform but wishes for their cooperation in implementation. For this reason, it is important for the HSWP what kind of relationship it has with young people and what stand it takes on the youth movement.

Mr Lukacs requested the Central Committee to support the exercise of political influence without direct party control, through cooperation and increased solidarity, and basically the activity of communists active in the youth organization.

KISZ should be able to shape the party's policy not only from the outside as a critic or advisor, but also from the inside, Mr Lukacs said.

Addressing the debate on KISZ, Imre Nagy, first secretary of the KISZ Central Committee, stressed that young people continue to harbour strong aversion to the HSWP for failing to offer genuine scope for action. Work has started in KISZ to abolish over-centralization and set up an up-to-date political mass organization.

In his address closing the debate, Janos Lukacs mentioned as a major condition for establishing cooperation that young people should also be given more importance in the party bodies. The document was adopted unanimously.

The Central Committee discussed the proposal presented by Janos Berecz on the setting up of the Lukacs Gyorgy Foundation, aimed at encouraging long-term scientific work compatible with socialist objectives. He announced that the foundation is open, and the president and members of its board will be elected by the Central Committee [CC] on the proposal of the Political Committee. The report was adopted unanimously. The next point on the agenda was the report concerning the celebration of the March 15 holiday. In elaboration of the report, Janos Berecz pointed out that the commemorations took place without disturbances, with extensive social participation. Unfortunately, he added, at places our forces took part in the events half-heartedly in an anxious manner.

The CC secretary deemed it necessary to express the party's distance from all those who used Hungary's national day for voicing anti-socialist views and slogans violating the nation's interests and international relations.

The body decided on questions of personnel on the basis of Karoly Grosz's report.

A communique is to be issued on the Central Committee session, and an international press conference will take place Thursday [30 March] afternoon.

Pozsgay, Others Cited

LD3003040589 Budapest Domestic Service
in Hungarian 1200 GMT 29 Mar 89

[Text] Imre Pozsgay has spoken at the meeting of the Hungarian Socialist Workers Party Central Committee. Andras Domany reports.

[Domany] I begin my report by saying that a few minutes ago the body unanimously adopted the report on the development of political openness, on the basic principles of the information law, as well as on the principles of the party's press policy and on the development of the party press. There were numerous contributors, among whom I mention Istvan Hajdu, president of Hungarian radio, and Gyula Bereczky, president of Hungarian television, who called attention with strong words to our institutions' infeasible technical situation, to the increasingly difficult operational conditions. In connection with the criticism befalling the press, they endeavored to persuade the members of the Central Committee to take a more subtle approach.

Imre Pozsgay, minister of state and member of the Politburo, spoke about the government's role in press direction. He cautioned that it is not the goal on radio, television, in MTI, or in MAGYAR HIRLAP that only the government's standpoint should appear, but that government policy's basic line assert itself as a tendency. The minister of state perhaps replied indirectly to Mrs Laszlo Klampf, who had objected that on the day of the conference of the Alliance of Free Democrats, the radio and television news programs began with this news. Imre Pozsgay said he had seen in Rome that the Congress of the Italian Communist Party had, for 5 days, been the first news item on the news programs of state radio and television there, because that was the important event. The Christian Democratic Party did not fear for its position because of this.

The press, for its own part, also controls the state. Indeed, party press is also a tool of party democracy, emphasized the member of the Politburo.

Janos Berecz, when closing the debate, also replied to a contributor who had found an adequate hold on the press wanting. There will be no such hold on the press, said the Central Committee secretary—by this generating something of a clamor in the session hall. It is necessary to endeavor for a lasting alliance of cooperation with the press. The Central Committee session, following a lunch break, will continue at 1500.

Spokesman Comments Before Meeting

LD2903020189 Budapest MTI in English
1913 GMT 28 Mar 89

[Text] Budapest, March 28 (MTI)—The Central Committee of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party [HSWP] is to meet in Budapest on Wednesday [29 March]. It is to discuss a proposal on the development of

political publicity and the fundamental principles of the information law, and is to take a stand on the principles of the party's press policy and the development of the party press. The Central Committee is to discuss the experiences of the party debate held on the reform of the political system, and will be briefed on the preparations for the 12th Congress of the Communist Youth Union of Hungary (KISZ). The body will also hear a report on the March 15 celebrations, and on several major events in the international activity of the HSWP, and will decide on setting up the Gyorgy Lukacs Foundation. The Central Committee will also discuss personnel issues.

Laszlo Major, spokesman of the HSWP, informed MTI on the following: It is the firm effort and intention of the HSWP to extend publicity, however, the extensive system of legal guarantees of voicing opinion should be worked out in this interest. The HSWP holds the objective exploration of the Hungarian recent past and present, with the creation of a society picture that is based on facts and connections, to be important. It also holds as important to work out the new press law.

A fundamental thesis is that exercising the freedom of opinion cannot be accompanied by the commission of a criminal act, the violation of the rights of others, Mr Major stressed. He then noted that, according to the party's opinion, the law should make it possible for anyone including private persons, to set up periodicals, local radio and television studios, presses, of a commercial character. The law should also decree on the proportion that foreign capital can be involved in the Hungarian press, how national sovereignty can be safeguarded in information policy. The law should define the means available for the organ that fulfils the lawful supervision of the press (at present this task is seen to by the public prosecutor's office) to uphold legality, and it should simultaneously clarify the notions of press punishment, press offence, and corrections. The HSWP would hold it useful if the law could be framed this year, following extensive social debate.

The aim of setting up the Gyorgy Lukacs Foundation is for it to contribute to improving the conditions of social sciences research, education and political dissemination of knowledge, in a Marxist, socialist spirit, Mr Major said. The foundation, which has a starting capital worth 40 million forints, covered by the sale of the building that housed the HSWP's Nograd County educational directorate, is open and all Hungarian persons and legal entities can join with financial means and various activities.

In conclusion the spokesman said that in case the Central Committee relieves Matyas Szuros as secretary, the Political Committee will propose that General Secretary Karoly Grosz be commissioned to head the HSWP group in the National Assembly.

Berecz, Lukacs Speak to Press

LD3103081389 Budapest: MTI in English
2205 GMT 30 Mar 89

[Text] Budapest, March 30 (MTI)—The Wednesday session of the HSWP [Hungarian Socialist Workers

Party] Central Committee was the topic of a press conference held at the CC's headquarters in Budapest on Thursday. After spokesman Laszlo Major had briefly outlined the items on the agenda, Janos Berecz and Janos Lukacs, members of the Political Committee and secretaries of the Central Committee, summed up the debates that followed their keynote speeches.

Mr Berecz said that his report on political publicity had been put forward to the Central Committee after almost two years of preparation. The political changes that took place in Hungarian society in this period also created a new situation for the HSWP. On Wednesday the Central Committee determined what approach the party should make to the press, accepting that will continue to be press organs belonging to the opposition and ones in sympathy with the HSWP, and some under its direct control and in its property. [sentence as received] The CC secretary emphasized that the fundamental principles of publicity were the confrontation of views and respect for those expressing them rather than fisticuffs.

The ten contributions to this item reflected that the CC had devised appropriate long-term principles for creating agreement, understanding and mutual respect between the HSWP and the Hungarian journalists.

Summing up the debate over the reform of the political system, Mr Lukacs emphasized that there had not been a vote over the issue of one-party or multi-party system. Some communists expressed reservations over the results and concern that pluralization might bring an anti-socialist and anti-communist turn.

Several, mainly foreign, journalists inquired about Imre Nagy's political rehabilitation. Mr Berecz recalled that in the latest parliamentary session the minister of justice said that the government had delegated a commission to revise the court verdicts that had been passed between 1945 and 1962 and had included a conception or elements of it. This work requires a longer time. According to Mr Berecz, Imre Nagy's rehabilitation has started with the publication of books and documents.

In reply to questions, Mr Lukacs said that it was raised during the debate that who belonged to the fundamentalists, the centre or the reform wing, would be very difficult to exactly define. Each party member should take their own decision on their political views, attitudes and affiliation. Unity can only be achieved and a political line worked out through debates. Mr Berecz added that, according to the new concept, the HSWP should be a political programme party in which there might be various currents connected by the realization of common political goals. If any current turns against the reform process, it has no place within the party.

Concerning the party struggles, Mr Lukacs emphasized that the HSWP did not wish to give up either its political or organizational positions. It will evolve its position before the enactment of the party law, and strive to have it accepted through political means.

As far as the multi-party system is concerned, the Central Committee decided without any preliminary consultation with the party members since that could not be a matter of vote within the party as the Central Committee assumed the position through their recognition of social reality.

In reply to questions, Mr Lukacs said that at present the HSWP has 780,000 members. In the past one and a half years 120,000 people have resigned from the party and there have been 20,000 new members. The trend of decline continues which is connected with Hungary's social reality, and the role and political line of the party. The HSWP has 5,400 full-time activists, including 1,800 in workplaces. The CC holds the position that, after a period of grace, the full-time activists should be recalled from the institutions and factories.

Grosz Interviewed on Current Issues
*LD0204180189 Budapest Domestic Service
in Hungarian 1015 GMT 2 Apr 89*

[Interview with Karoly Grosz, general secretary of the Hungarian Socialist Workers Party Central Committee, by correspondent Pal Toth; date, place not given—recorded]

[Text] [Toth] Originally we planned this conversation to be a live program—Karoly Grosz, too, has agreed to this, but by the time this is broadcast the general secretary will already be on his way—where, may I ask?

[Grosz] Yes, I have already agreed to participate in the celebration of Zahony becoming a town and to give a short festive speech there. Even before that, I have a working visit to Borsod County—my special homeland. Just as earlier, in the case of Letenye, this celebration also will be held in the series of settlements that are becoming towns, and I am very glad that I have been invited.

[Toth] There are two reasons this does not preclude the listeners getting replies to their answers. One: Our telephone line is open even now, so they can safely ask their questions. Also, those that are not replied to now can later be found in NEPSZABADSAG and in UJ TUKOR. As for the letters and questions, I believe that probably only post office workers who distribute letters come across as many letters as those that are addressed to you. You have brought a few letters with you.

[Grosz] Yes, one of the correspondents asks me to give brief answers whereas another asks me to expound my views in a comprehensive, widely argued fashion. More than likely a compromise will have to be made here.

[Toth] Many people from Borsod get into leading positions. The case of the national theater is mentioned in this respect.

[Grosz] I did not know whether it is many or few because in general, I do not keep a register; I cannot even follow the cadre movement within the party organizations. There are many able people in Borsod as well as around the country. The change in the leadership of the national theater was a subject of discussion even when I was still secretary of the Borsod party committee. (?In other words), I had nothing to do with that. By the way, I am glad because I consider the person appointed to the post to be a very able theater director, and I do not think that in this small country one should be permitted to judge people on the basis of where they come from. We should instead ask whether they are capable.

[Toth] What is your general state of well-being, Comrade Grosz? Some people live below the minimum subsistence level. Do you have material difficulties?

[Grosz] I have never had material problems, nor have I now. Of course, I live much better today than before, but even when I was living on a tiny fraction of the income available to me now I had no material problems, for I adhered to the old folk proverb: I don't spend more than I have in my purse.

[Toth] Do you smoke?

[Grosz] No, although I once smoked a single cigar as a result of a bet.

[Toth] I still puff away, although increasingly rarely, due to the rise in prices here.

[Grosz] Yes, I read about that in the newspaper.

[Toth] Please, perhaps we could switch over to another group of questions.

Not long ago you met Mikhail Gorbachev. According to the official communique, this fits into the series of regular meetings in the course of which the general secretaries of the two parties exchange views and opinions on timely issues. However, being what we are, we always suspect something more than what appears in the communique, particularly concerning Hungary's current domestic political situation. So, what happened in Moscow?

[Grosz] What we have published and what we reported to the Central Committee. These were frank, open talks. We planned to hold them earlier but, primarily because Comrade Ryzhkov was busy, Miklos Nemeth's visit was delayed. I did not want to have a meeting preceding this because it is not the general secretaries who must discuss specific economic issues, which are very important from the point of view of the economic cooperation between the two countries.

[Toth] Who brought the issue of neutrality to the negotiating table?

[Grosz] I raised this as a new topic of discussion surfacing in Hungarian domestic political life. I gave him my opinion on this—not that of the party leadership in general (?because) we have not debated this; we have discussed it, but we have not debated it at a meeting. I gave him my opinion, the way I see it and, just like on so many other issues, we also had a complete unity of views. This question is not timely today. At the same time, we must consistently work to eliminate the two military blocs.

[Toth] You have accepted the Hungarian proposal on bilateral accounting. Does this mean that within CEMA such bilateral contracts will strengthen?

[grosz] We discussed the idea that we would want to change over to a new system of accounting in bilateral relations. To put it very simply, I would say that we would want to have a system largely matching the Finnish model. I asked for his political support on this, and agreed. He said that we should try it because both of us believe that CEMA's modernization is necessary. But this will be a long process. We cannot wait until we are able to coordinate the interests of all the member states, while the fact must also be faced that CEMA cannot be modernized from above, on the basis of an agreement between a few premiers. We must work in such a way that simultaneously with the modernization of our system of accounting and our market mechanism we develop bilateral relations; only when conditions mature so that it can be a more coordinated, unified, and large market will it then be possible to move to a higher level.

[Toth] By the way, this already arose before, as a proposal, and you were precisely the one who, as premier, made the proposal on behalf of the Hungarian Government.

[Grosz] Yes, but at that time I did not experience such a readiness to accept it as I now find. I think that we still must consider and examine whether it is possible to meet the system of demands that is required by such a market. Why have the Finns been able to achieve such success with this system of accounting? Because they have been able to produce quality goods that are competitive with those of the large partners, the West Germans, the Japanese, the U.S. partners.

So it is not merely a matter of how we do our accounting, but also of whether we are able, in a new structure, to produce a product quality and product structure with which we, in the final analysis, will make gains.

[Toth] It appears that this (?stops) in the Soviet Union [as heard], but if CEMA continues, then bilateral relations must of necessity be strengthened with the GDR, Czechoslovakia, and all the other socialist countries. Will there be a readiness to accept this there?

[Grosz] I do not know the stands of all of my counterparts. I know some of them—they are getting acquainted with the idea, and others also have very constructive ideas. These must be aligned with one another, and it must be seen which is more viable. We believe that roughly [number indistinct] percent of CEMA's turnover is carried out in the Soviet Union. This is the largest figure, and it is there that we must first take steps, and then later we will adjust the others to this.

[Toth] How is the Hungarian reform judged in the Soviet Union? What identical or similar points can be found there?

[Grosz] The Hungarian reform concept is supported, [word indistinct] is watched, and what is more, the lessons are utilized and analyzed. They are not copied because they cannot be copied. The Soviet Union's dimensions and resources, and its level of development in certain sectors diverge greatly from Hungarian practice. At the same time, they are observing our way of thinking and our philosophy of reform.

Allow me to note an example: We have now elaborated the agrarian theses, the new ones. As is usually the case, we sent them to our friends, to the Soviet partners as well, for information, thinking that they might be able to make some use of them, for they, too, have just discussed agrarian theses. There then came a request that we should not send off the current ones but rather the previous ones, for the 1960s, when the entire agricultural movement got underway, when we changed over to the new buying system. That is what is on the agenda there, so they are gathering those experiences. Thus, there is also a difference in the chronological order, in dimensions, and in spheres, as well. Thus, there are very many differences, but at the same time there are also very many identical points.

The most important thing is that market elements must be incorporated in the economy. Planning must follow an entirely new method and direction. The independence of enterprises must be increased. The responsibility of managers must be increased. The possibility for collectives to have a say in management must be developed. So very many identical points can also be observed.

[Toth] I believe that at the most recent Central Committee session, when you reported on your talks with Gorbachev, there was talk of—if I remember correctly, Matyas Szuros mentioned it—why you did not discuss the Romanian issue. After Arad, is it necessary to wait another 12 years for the agreements to be fulfilled?

[Grosz] No, I do not believe so. Our knowledge has been enriched since Arad; we know more about the processes there, and we have become better acquainted with the stand of international public opinion. I am convinced that this will have an impact on Romanian policy, on

Romanian domestic political life, and that the transformation and shaping of a political line, its more flexible appearance, will give us more possibilities for cooperation, for a clarification of disputed issues. I would like to emphasize: It is not the Romanian people with whom we have a conflict, but there are certain spheres of Romanian policy in which our principled and practical conceptions diverge.

As for the Romanian nationalities policy, our stand has not changed. We have professed from the 1st minute—and I personally have professed—that the Romanian stand that the nationalities problem has been resolved in Romania is unacceptable to us.

[Toth] The issue of Czechoslovakia has arisen. What is your opinion of the Czechoslovak events, the Vaclav Havel affair, the Hungarian protests concerning this, and in general this set of issues?

[Grosz] Look, the manner in which the alternative thinkers, those who think differently, are handled is the internal affair of every country. We in Hungary pursue a different practice. Everyone sees and knows this. I think that if people in Hungary believe that the alternative thinkers are not handled correctly in Czechoslovakia, they should express their opinion. We have no objection to this, and all the less so because if they want to demonstrate against Hungarian policy we also permit this. So, on what basis would we hamper them if they wish to voice their opinion in connection with events in another country?

[Toth] On the other hand, on the basis of the questions, we are interested in your having met with Yasir 'Arafat not so long ago. The question is: When will we settle, definitively and at a high level—that is, at the ambassadorial level—our relations with the State of Israel, and how does the PLO take this?

[Grosz] I asked him to help so that the leaders of the other Arab countries will our intentions; they should understand that this step is not directed against the PLO, but that, on the contrary, it is in their interest, but that naturally, first and foremost, it expresses Hungary's interests. Therefore, we will settle relations with Israel; we have already decided on this, but we would like our Arab partners to understand our intentions.

[Toth] It is said in more and more places that anti-Semitism is spreading in our country. What is your opinion on this?

[Grosz] Yes, I am also experiencing that, and it alarms me very much. Not only is there anti-Semitism, but also nationalism and antipathy toward the Gypsies. Therefore, racism is also present in our current public life. The party has several times clearly formulated its stand on these issues. It is necessary to use all the political means at our disposal to take measures against these phenomena.

[Toth] I think that the party will now probably have to open wider the gates that it wishes to appear by prior to the political publicity, the political publicity through which it wishes to win public opinion and to bring it over to its side, for elections are approaching.

[Grosz] This gate cannot be opened much wider than it already is; it is completely open now. At the same time, every organization and movement must be allowed the right to debate and decide certain issues relating to its internal life in a smaller circle, at a closed session, and not before the public. Once the multiparty system is in operation, there will frequently more be issues of a tactical nature that will have to be debated in closed sessions, because every party forms the stands that have to be formulated on certain issues through debates, and debates cannot serve as arguments for the political opponents. So, the openness is accompanied at the same time by a certain degree of closed activities, if you will, and this is normal; it is right this way. Those issues to be publicized must in some measure be ripe, and they must partly be those for which the broad public indicates the effort and intention of politics.

[Toth] Here is a question from Dr Rezso Csaba of Budapest: Your relationship with the press is not too good, and in an interview you made a remark about the radio network. Has your opinion changed since then?

[Grosz] My opinion has not changed, but this question is not accurate in that way. It is not my relationship with the press that is not so good; rather, it is the press's relationship with me that is not so good, or the relationship of certain members of the press. I not only respect the press, I like it, to say nothing of the radio network. I grew up here. I like this institution, and very many of my friends work here. My problem is that while before—and I lived through this, it is quite true—very many internal limits—not only external, but also internal limits—impeded us in further developing and unfolding openness, today, on the other hand, there is not enough self-discipline.

[Toth] I see. I will probably now be paying a compliment to Istvan Hajdu, president of the radio network, who is watching our conversation out there, on the other side of the glass panel. At this same Central Committee session, he said that mass communication is not the same as publicity; it can be a tool and also an objective of publicity.

[Grosz] Yes, Istvan Hajdu was right; I listened to his speech. I believe that he has in a short time turned out to be a very good radio person. He has also been infected by the radio's atmosphere, in the good sense, of course. I also say that mass communication is a tool for extending publicity, but publicity cannot be narrowed down to mass communication. It is the duty and the interest of every party, every political movement, and every government to make use of and work with mass communication.

[Toth] Then let me take the example of Janos Berecz's speech. He said that the press does not have to be kept in hand, but that it has to be treated as a partner.

[Grosz] Yes, Janos Berecz...

[Toth, interrupting] Let us except the party press, because you own that newspaper.

[Grosz] Janos Berecz is right, because in general the influencing of the press—on the part of every political force, for this does not only apply to the MSZMP but also to other political efforts—can take place by way of an intellectual partnership. On the other hand, the relationship of the movement, the government, and the other movements as well, of course, to their own papers is different. There one has to evolve a much more marked practice and mechanism of direction, (but) even there one cannot dispense with intellectual influence and thinking together. In any case, the history of politics shows that parties and political efforts convey their intentions and endeavors to their adherents, their voters, and to those interested through their own press. Therefore, it is in the party's interest to be able to work with its own press, and to be able to cooperate with the mass communication systems. This means, taking Hungarian conditions into consideration, let us say, that the parties will not have such independent tools at their disposal in the near future. I do not think that any given party would be able to create a television or radio station for itself, although in principle they have the possibility of doing this.

[Toth] This reminds me that the battle has really begun for these tools, for these national tools, for radio and television. It is not the fact that on 15 March, symbolically, let us say, they wanted to occupy the television network—that is not what I am referring to, but rather the struggle for time, for space, for the opportunity to speak and make appearances.

[Grosz] Yes. It has started, and I consider this to be natural. One does not have to struggle that much, because it is also our intention that these various intellectual and political tendencies which agree with the Constitution gain scope with both Hungarian radio and television. This still naturally disturbs many people, first and foremost because the political culture even of our political opponents and political partners is not much higher than ours and, indeed, fairly extreme opinions are also formulated. The question is then justifiably raised that this does not accord with the interest of the Hungarian people, or that this already goes beyond that limit up to which the radio or television networks may be placed at their disposal.

[Toth] The MSZMP is the first party, and not only in Hungary, to share power. [sentence as heard] Why?

[Grosz] I have already stated my opinion many times on this. The system of political institutions developed after 1945 came to grief in 1956. After 1956, we pulled many things down from this building, but we did not build a new one in its place. We again are struggling with serious problems. Therefore, I feel that the belief that we should further develop a socialist democracy in the framework of a one-party system, at this point, amid our current political conditions, is not a feasible path for us. However, we cannot renounce the building of a socialist democracy. The multiparty system presently appears to be a more suitable form for our progression along this path than a one-party structure. At the same time, I profess that the main question is not whether there is a one-party or a multiparty system; the main question is that the various interests and endeavors existing in society appear on the stage of public life, and that increasingly more people be able to have a say in shaping their fate and their life in society.

[Toth] This historical necessity—because that too has an impact, and this is recognized by the party—will, I believe, serve to regain the trust of the membership and the trust of the nation.

[Grosz] It is true that the mistakes made within the party and the decisions of a subjective nature have played a very significant role in the development of the current economic situation. For this reason, the party must regain its respect and prestige, and for this to happen, it must provide public opinion with guarantees that such things will not happen in the future. The multiparty system is one guarantee of this, not the sole guarantee, but one of them.

[Toth] I believe that what I heard from Imre Pozsgay is also part of the nature of political openness: He said that public performers are in a relationship of dependence, political dependence, and because of this their teeth chatter when they have to speak. It is not possible to genuinely agitate in this manner. Is this true?

[Grosz] That is how I see things.

[Toth] Things will not work if there are attempts to win people over, and one cannot deal with agitating—one, properly speaking, is dispelling his fears. Therefore, something must be devised, some kind of method must be introduced, and something new must be brought in, because it is a very important thing now to win people over emotionally. What sounds good is much more likely to get through.

[Grosz] Yes, that is true, but it is not necessary to devise anything new. It is necessary to learn to work with these means. At one time, we knew how to, but we forgot this. Now it is necessary to refresh our memory. It is not in radio and television where this must be begun. It is necessary to meet people and it is necessary to undertake public performances. It is not necessary to fear that what

we say today will not be true tomorrow. It is necessary to argue, to line up arguments and counterarguments. Then we will learn to work with television and radio.

[Toth] Here, allow me to ask the question that one of our dear listeners sent in: How do things stand with the politician, policy, and changes in opinion? You, in certain situations, in an earlier period, judged things differently, said different things, and now, you again judge them differently.

[Grosz] I am familiar with that problem, but I have been reproached quite a bit in the past months that I change my opinion more frequently than is justified. If those who have reproached me because of this had known me earlier, they would know that this is not a new characteristic of mine. It is not concomitant with my post as general secretary. This is how I was earlier, and also virtually throughout my entire life. I do not consider this to be a crime. If I am allowed to qualify myself, I consider it a virtue. If one always tries to make statements that are perpetually valid, he will find no such thing because it does not exist.

Second, if one respects his partners in conversation, if he respects life and truth, then it is inconceivable to me that he might not consider the movement, development, and change, and that he might not draw conclusions from these, for himself, virtually from day to day. If a politician, out of fear for his prestige, does not change his opinion, when life has shown him something different from what he said earlier, then he will lose face, and this politician sooner or later will be unsuitable to serve his own policy.

I believe that one of the lessons in the history of the Hungarian party is that it is incorrect, in this galloping world and changing era, to place emphasis on permanence and continuity. Emphasis must be placed on change and on renewal. Change and renewal also entail a change in our opinion, in accordance with the changing requirements and circumstances. Of course, this at the same time can not mean irresponsibility or rashness. It is necessary to consider in a levelheaded manner the things about which one changes his opinions, and whether he is changing them for well-grounded reasons [words indistinct].

[Toth] What pressures, for example from the Central Committee or the Politburo, or from the inner progress of an idea, or other pressure on a social or economic scale, can change your opinion?

[Grosz] Well, political pressure cannot under any circumstances, but political phenomena and political experiences can and do. If one formulates ideas about a tenet or value that one considers important, and he then finds that many contest it, one then reconsiders it, to see whether he or those that oppose it are right. If he comes to the conclusion that he still is right, then he must stand steadfast, but if he concludes that it is those who oppose him that are right, then he should adjust to this. This adjustment does not

mean that one must make a 180-degree turnabout, but rather that one adjusts and makes his opinion more precise on the basis of [word indistinct] experience. I do not believe that it would be correct to adjust one's opinion to suit momentary moods. Nowadays, there are a fair number of examples of people who in the past excessively and overexplainedly served—and excuse me for the expression—fell about panting in their service—a mistaken political decision with incredible ambition and much noise and loudness, and yet now these same people loudly deny everything from that period, even (?those things) that remain valuable (?even today).

[Toth] Please, does it not worry you or the MSZMP that these days many are leaving the party; we are talking about the 100,000 who left within the past year to 18 months. Does the fact that only 20,000 have returned not relate to what you just said before? It is being forecast that the decrease of the party membership will perhaps now stop. On what do you base this forecast?

[Grosz] The term they have returned is not a good one.

[Toth] Then let me say that new ones joined.

[Grosz] What is important is that new members joined; that is very important. It is very important because he who joins the party today has certainly very thoroughly considered the kind of burden that he is undertaking. He who joins the party is ready for political battle; he who joins the movement today has surely prepared an account of the lessons and experiences of the past decades, but he has also thought through what tomorrow and the day after tomorrow will bring. This is a very great strength; it is very good that such people exist, and I am also glad that they are young, that they belong to the young generation. Well, we now think that we need every party member who accepts the basic endeavors of our policy. I use the term basic endeavors because we cannot request that a complete unity and identity of views prevail on every less important issue. Therefore, we need those who accept the main directions of our policy. We reckon that a decisive majority of our present party membership agree with the main direction of policy and support it. What they do not agree with they say so clearly, and we—what we consider acceptable out of this—try to implement in our practice. Would you like an example? Yes, here is one. I see for example that very many criticize the fact that there is no unity in the party leadership. They say that there is no unity and that a leadership that is not united is unable to lead the party—that is, this party is unable to accept the responsibility that falls on the shoulders of a leading party.

We say and have been saying to this day that this leadership is united, although on some questions a very passionate debate is taking place—but this is a good thing. At the same time, politicians on the basis of differences in the human and political experiences that they have demonstrate their differing values and qualities in a better way today than hitherto. This is also a

good thing. However, if this disturbs the movement, then conclusions must be drawn from this. This means that it appears that more time must be expended to coordinate our views, and that there will be more anarchy. Second, we must make the right of the existence of differences of opinion be accepted—precisely in the spirit of platform freedom—with a greater intensity. And, the way I see it, this is how the view formed about the party leadership and the practical work of the party leadership will move closer to the opinion of the party membership.

[Toth] What kind of debate is taking place within the MSZMP between the proreform wing and the so-called fundamentalists? Is a compromise being prepared, or has the MSZMP leadership resolved that it move in the direction of reform? A very significant question, I think.

[Grosz] It is an essential question, but it is put well, because in politics compromise is a natural phenomenon. It is not an extraordinary state of affairs; it is typical. There is no political party that would remove compromise from its arsenal. The correct answers to the questions that arise generally are born in compromises.

Fundamentalism, as a term, has been picked up very quickly by public opinion, the party public opinion too, although he who first formulated it did not have the intention of condemning some kind of extremist current, which in my opinion does not exist in the movement.

[Toth] Rezsoe Nyers must explain this quite a few times these days.

[Grosz] Yes, but what he said at the last Central Committee session was also perfectly acceptable in its entirety. After all, he did not do anything except to try to describe the existing different spiritual currents within the party in some form. He described with this term the current that is left of center. Please, the presence of different currents within the party is not a new thing. The party's entire history proves this. It is another question as to what degree this could be seen before, but it always existed and continues to exist in every political party. So I believe that making public the exchange of views and arguments within the party adds a new color to the life of politics. We, precisely in the name of platform freedom, maintain this endeavor and aim that it take place in front of the public, this clash between different arguments and opinions. By the way, this fits perfectly into the Leninist concept of the party; this is not something we have just conceived.

[Toth] This, by the way, went on in the USSR until 1927, indeed, in the early days of Stalin.

[Grosz] The party did not weaken as a result; on the contrary, the party grew stronger. For precisely this reason these debates must be allowed to go on, a clashing of opinions must be permitted, and reasoning will be victorious.

[Toth] Still, please believe me that there are many anxious questions.

[Grosz] Yes, because it is a new phenomenon and we are not used to it yet. The movement has not adjusted itself to it, but that is a transient phenomenon. If, on the grounds of this anxiety, we returned to the old practice, we would be making an unforgivable mistake. We must, of course, learn to work with these differences of opinions; we must be able to listen to the arguments of others, to tolerate opposing views, and we must also be able to confess our mistakes. I am convinced that what is happening in the party today is a road leading to a new quality of unity.

[Toth] It is a general view that the political reform has run ahead to such an extent that it is beginning to lose its credibility, because the economy meanwhile has been left stuck behind. It is impossible to follow for people who have no money in their pockets.

[Grosz] This is my view too. This is not the first time I have said this; I have said it at mass rallies, at aktivs, at Central Committee sessions. However, it doesn't follow from this that the political reform must be slowed down, although in this respect it wouldn't do any harm to plan our next moves in a more circumspect manner. After all, it is not a good thing to introduce at one parliament session a law of great significance and then, by the next session, have to have it modified and made more precise. I think, therefore, that the circumspect, demanding work cannot suffer because of this great pace. Still, the fundamental problem is that the economic reform needs speeding up and not the political reform slowing down. At the same time we must also realize that the unfolding of the economic reform processes is a much more complicated thing than the unfolding of the political reform.

Why? Do we perhaps have less well-prepared experts there, or less committed employees? No, it is because the present economic relations are extraordinarily confused [oesszekuszalt]. Second, the objective economic circumstances—that is the debt stock, our freedom of maneuver in the economy—allow a very narrow possibility for innovation. Third, in the sphere of economic reform, it is that reform which is worth something which brings concrete, tangible results. I do not believe that full, harmonious unity can be created in the long run between the two processes, but it is very important that there shouldn't be too great a gap. It is very important that the gap between the two processes not remain permanently large; we must watch out. The conditions cannot be created by resolution. Let me give you an example for the economic restructuring. If we are unable to activate \$3 or \$4 billion in the economy, beyond the amount allocated for balancing the interest difference [kamatkueloenbseg], which at the moment we are unable to produce, and for fulfilling our debt obligations, these together stand at about \$3 billion annually....

[Toth] We shouldn't even say perhaps how much it is going to be after 1992.

[Grosz] We shouldn't say, because it will be approximately equal to our current hard currency exports in sum, and it is in addition to this that we need \$3 or \$4 billion for speeding up this structuring. If we are unable to produce this sum, it makes no difference what kind of reform decisions we make; it will be impossible to carry them out.

[Toth] In the country, 10 percent of the population are members of the MSZMP. In parliament, the proportion of deputies is 75 percent. The question is whether you consider this to be just? I add that you have become, or it appears will become, the head of the parliamentary faction of MSZMP members who are National Assembly deputies.

[Grosz] The party's mass influence is usually much greater than the proportion of party members. Let me say that there is exactly the same difference in proportion between the number of members in the Spanish Socialist Party and its deputies' mandates, as in Hungarian practice. At the same time, I personally have experienced and lived through elections where, in very many places, the representative who was a party member was given precedence, as the second starter, or from among the alternative proposals. Properly speaking, in this election mechanism we have not been able to influence these proportions to such an extent.

With regard to my becoming, or having become, the head of that group of deputies, as the Central Committee decided, this lasts for a very short time. The general secretary cannot undertake this for a prolonged time. In the place of Comrade Szuros, who was elected speaker of parliament and who was hitherto leader of the group of deputies, I have to assume this position temporarily, seeing that the new leader of the group of deputies will be elected by us on the basis of the opinion of the communist deputies. This was not the case to date. For this, however, time is necessary, and we have to ask for opinions concerning the nominee.

[Toth] Who benefits from the Workers Guard, many people ask, from Budapest and the countryside.

[Grosz] For the country. It is a voluntary body. Its members try to partake, alongside their work, in maintaining public order, public security, and the country's defense capability.

[Toth] Regarding its status, the Workers Guard began as a party army. What would happen if, in the case of a multiparty system, other parties were to have such an army?

[Grosz] First, it is necessary to clarify that the Workers Guard, its creation, is contained, not in the program of the MSZMP, but in that of the Smallholders Party [as

heard]. Second, it did not begin as a party army, nor is it that now, because between 1956 and 1970 it belonged to the staff of the Ministry of the Interior. Its independent apparatus was qualified as one working in the Ministry of the Interior. Nor is it a party army now. The Council of Ministers appoints its commander, the Council of Ministers oversees it, and the Council of Ministers provides for its material supplies.

Currently, apart from members of the MSZMP, there are members, indeed leadership members, of the Hungarian Democratic Forum and the Federation of Young Democrats in the Workers Guard. Therefore, it is not a party body, but one which is organized on a state, social basis. I would not approve if other parties were to create armed bodies, just as I would not approve if the MSZMP were to create an independent armed body. At the same time, I am convinced that the Workers Guard must be made even more open, and no matter which party he belongs to, everyone who accepts the three very important basic principles necessary for membership should be able to be a member. That is, he should be at least 18, he should not have a criminal record, and he should accept the Constitution.

[Toth] In the past weeks, at least as much has been said about the Vienna-Budapest world exhibition as about the Workers Guard. You, as well, voted in parliament. For what?

[Grosz] I consider the Budapest-Vienna world exhibition to be an opportunity that we must not let slip by. I support the opinions that say it is one—not the only one, or the most important one—of the opportunities for the country's economic progress. I am also acquainted with the counteropinions, since I sat through the parliamentary debate. I believe that the correct conception is that which envisions it as a self-accounting economic venture. I am of the opinion that the demand is just, that it should not be only the country's western area, but the whole country which partakes of the advantages that a world exhibition could yield. This is an organizational-technical issue. It could be done very well; there is still time for it.

It ought to be considered that rich countries fight for years, even for decades, to be able to stage a world exhibition, and most of them do it not merely for propaganda purposes, but they want to make gains out of economic interest. We want this, too.

[Toth] It has been suggested that one of the sites might be precisely the Obuda shipyard; and with this we return to a current topical issue. The other day there was a strident dispute, moreover, a workers rally, in the shipyard.

[Grosz] Yes.

[Toth] One thousand three hundred people said it was a question of their existence, and they protested against the measures taken by the managing director. Later on Adam

Angyal also made a statement, moreover, so did Gyorgy Marosan, the government spokesman. I think one could draw a more general picture of these phenomena.

[Grosz] In the future we can count on more such expressions of political opinion, because of our economic political concept that the movement of labor, of capital, of property, should accelerate. This will obviously offend the interests of small groups, smaller collectives. We know this clearly. Also in this concrete issue I understand the people's anxiety. At the same time, such issues cannot be decided on the basis of the interests of this or that smaller collective, even if that is 1,000 or 2,000 people. Very clear calculations have to be conducted, and these have to be discussed with the people. I do not believe that if they had discussed with these 1,300 people what considerations and for what purpose they were making the decision, that if they had told the people how and in what way they wanted to settle their fate, that these people would then have not understood it. They would have understood, but this has to be dealt with. In other words, decisions cannot be made at a desk, on the basis of logical and clear economic calculations, leaving the collectives out of it. As a matter of fact the letter sent by the collective, which I have naturally read, will have to be answered by our prime minister, because according to the evolved practice the party leadership will not take a stand on such concrete issues, as I have already mentioned. But I do understand people's anxiety, and people's opinions have to be dealt with, and their questions have to be answered.

[Toth] The questions have not slackened off very much. Do you not think that the present unrest does not attract, but rather deters, capital from Hungary? I am thinking of the domestic political (?tension).

[Grosz] No. I have already formulated it several times, at aktivs, at sessions, even in the newspapers.

[Toth] For what time is the halting of the inflation planned? Is it at all possible to reply to this?

[Grosz] We cannot completely halt inflation in the foreseeable term, but the reduction of inflation is a goal. They are now working on it; both in the party and in the government they are working on it. I feel that we must go toward a single-digit inflation, and stop there somewhere, and balance its undesirable effects with other tools.

[Toth] What rate of unemployment do you expect?

[Grosz] A great number of figures are circulating here in the public mind. I do not think that anyone could say this precisely today.

[Toth] In your view, how much longer may this downward economic trend last? In other words, will there be more potholes?

[Grosz] In my judgment, the stabilization period will be 3, 4, 5 years. Afterwards we can expect a period of more dynamic development. In my view, it is in the years after 1995 that we can expect to be able to guarantee an approximately 3 percent GDP growth.

[Toth] How much longer are the loss-making enterprises going to be supported from the state budget? Here this also refers to children's clothes, though support has been withdrawn from there; but there are still enterprises being supported.

[Grosz] Yes, there are. To do this, a new accounting system, the reform of the budget, a new price system, and so on are needed, which will enable us to eliminate support altogether. It has to be understood, however, that there are areas where support is not eliminated anywhere in the world, such as in agriculture. For example, Japan supports its agricultural production more than 100 percent. We, with 36 to 37 percent, to my knowledge, are placed somewhere in the middle. Thus, agricultural support will stay, by all means, very permanently. However, with regard to industrial support, there further reduction is required, though I would like to add that this is also a complex question because the conditions of reducing support also have to be created. On the one hand, to create employment for the workers of enterprises that became unable to operate because of this process, which in sum is not less than the support, but in fact is more. On the other hand, the means that were eliminated from production have to be replaced somehow and from somewhere; and if we cannot do this from inside resources then it has to be done from import. If we can not do it from socialist import, then we have to do it from capitalist import and that, again has other far-reaching consequences. So this is slightly more complicated than arranging it all with a resolution.

[Toth] Please, we are living the metamorphosis of history; he who used to be guilty is a hero now, and vice versa. Laszlo Rajk Jr said that his father was buried by the house he himself built. So the case of short trials...

[Grosz, interrupting] Yes, we have decided to review all the court materials prior to 1962, which demands lengthy work. I am convinced that we owe this to the present and to our ascendants, so that we can close these cases at last. It is very difficult, even with the hindsight of 30 years, to objectively judge the processes then, the happenings at the time, the decisions, but I feel that in certain issues we can bring about such decisions—for putting public opinion and our conscience at rest—and the judicial organs can make decisions to finally close this period.

[Toth] There have been many questions regarding the issue of 1956, whether it was a popular uprising or whether it was not. When Imre Pozsgay announced that it was a popular uprising you were at Davos, and the letter writers say you were very angry. Was this the case?

[Grosz] I was not angry. Where do you get this from? Anyway, I do not usually get angry. I now think back a good number of years, and I do not remember having been angry. In other words, I was not angry. I did not consider politically rational the publication of such a half-baked, immature assessment, but I was not angry because of that. Every politician has the right to represent his conviction. My conviction differs from this. I consider it as a simplification; I think that the more precise approach is the one which evaluates the well-known days of 1956 as a process starting from a youth action, uprising [felkeles], then turning into a counter-revolution.

[Toth] Mrs Janos Kuerti, Egercseh, says that the MSZMP Central Committee did not accept the concept of a popular uprising as a description of 1956 when it met on 10 February this year. So why then, despite this, was Imre Pozsgay sent to Italy to represent the MSZMP?

[Grosz] I do not understand the question. After all, we clearly formulated at the Central Committee session that we had full confidence in Imre Pozsgay, who is a member of the Politburo, he is a good comrade of ours. He works together with us, we are battling together, we are debating. Why should he not represent the party? By the way, every Politburo member travels to such venues, invitations must be honored, and it is part of party relations.

[Toth] The rehabilitation of Imre Nagy, Pal Maleter, and others is on the agenda everywhere. The question goes: Could there be a political rehabilitation of Imre Nagy, for example, before his burial [on 16 June]?

[Grosz] I do not believe this could happen. Nor do I believe in the political rehabilitation of Imre Nagy—I personally should like to word this clearly. I feel there is a justification for a certain legal rehabilitation, although I am not a jurist. The entire records of the case have to be studied, and they are being studied. Experts are working on it. This is not the matter of the party leadership.

However, the party has, and must have, an opinion in the judgment of his political role. For this reason, we now are very consciously and consistently exploring, processing—I put it as “exploring” because there is (?material) which we are not yet familiar with—the documents which are able to present the political role of Imre Nagy much more authentically. My opinion is that these documents must be made public so that public opinion can acquaint itself with it, but I feel that mistakes of a political nature took place in those days which do not justify a full rehabilitation from a political viewpoint.

However, I have already said abroad that insofar as we obtain new information so that we can revise this standpoint of ours, we shall revise it.

[Toth] So it will be necessary that the certain 1962 Central Committee resolution, which qualified...

[Grosz, interrupting] In that case, yes, if there is new information. We, among other things, asked for this in Moscow—that they should help this work. There are not many documents in our country, nor did they exist—or if they existed, they were destroyed during the events.

It is possible that we may be able to gain access to sources which help us to measure this process more accurately. We have not only asked this of our Soviet partners, but also of Comrade Suvar, of the Yugoslav comrades, at the meeting at the border. They are ready for us to study the documents at their disposal, so that via this we should get closer to a correct judgment of the political process. For precisely this reason our state secretary in the Foreign Affairs Ministry soon will travel to Yugoslavia, in order to process there the archival material.

[Toth] What do you think—with the parameters of today is it possible to measure up the past, history, what happened at that time?

[Grosz] No. But even so, it is necessary to take stock of the events of the time. At present we are living in entirely different international and domestic political circumstances than at the time these events took place. Despite that, I profess that it is our obligation to close this period in a reassuring manner.

My feeling is that we can accept one sole principle for a political settlement: that it is necessary for us to seek a way out in the direction of reconciliation, of social consensus, of consensus.

[Toth] The history of the recent past ought to be researched anew. Why are not Janos Kadar, Bela Biszku, Mihaly Korom, and Antal Aproz speaking about this—Gyula Krassai) asks from Szekszard.

[Grosz] I do not know why they are not speaking. At this time Comrade Kadar's health condition does not permit him to work, and thus for him to deal with such a sorting out of his recollections, a summing up of his experiences. If his condition improves, if he is able to work, he has promised that he will try to evoke and take stock of the experiences from this period.

I believe the questioner was primarily interested in there being a preoccupation with the experiences of the past 15 years. I should like to say here that fortunately the situation is such that the documents from the period that has elapsed since 1973 are at our disposal. So we want to process this in a very level-headed manner, and we want to utilize the lessons.

The documents, of course, do not reflect the subjective elements, the atmospheric elements, in which these decisions were reached. For this it is necessary to ask for their assistance. Our party chairman [word indistinct] as extensively as possible.

[Toth] At the beginning of this conversation you mentioned that you again were going to travel over the weekend. You are going to inaugurate a city in Zahony. Are you frequently able to get away from the capital?

[Grosz] Not as frequently as I would like. I spend 2 days a month somewhere—in a county, in a factory. If I have the means, I accept a program in Budapest, in the meantime, which is a brief outing, properly speaking, a program lasting a few hours in a factory or at a regional base organization.

[Toth] It is believed that you are willing to leave Central Committee headquarters.

[Grosz] That is true. I very much like to be on the move. Unfortunately, at present I do not have the means for this, but I very much hope that this will pass, and that I will have more opportunities to gather direct experience, to converse with people, and to explain my point of view. I do not particularly like the form of rallies. I much prefer meetings of small communities. They are more humane, more intimate, one can talk better, debate, and argue. I feel the people are more relaxed. However, this is very time-consuming, but very useful.

[Toth] Perhaps you have no time free from politics, but do you have time for theater, cinema?

[Grosz] Unfortunately no, and I say this sadly, because in order for a person to be able to take in all this political, condensed political experience, it is also necessary for him to rest occasionally. This also means that he should gather other intellectual experiences.

[Toth] Allow me to ask a question I would have liked to ask at the beginning. Our listener asks, on 15 March, when we celebrated the struggle against the ruling Hapsburg dynasty, half of the country was shopping in Vienna. Where did you spend 15 March?

[Grosz] From 0700 until 2300, I was at my workplace at Central Committee headquarters preparing for the Central Committee session.

[Toth] Allow me to add, you did not undertake a public appearance on 15 March. However, you have made plans to do so on 4 April. Is there any weighty reason for this?

[Grosz] There is none. This is how it took shape. One is usually invited to many places; that is natural. Now, properly speaking, I am going to a city inauguration ceremony, not to a 4 April ceremony. However, the city inauguration ceremony falls close to 4 April.

[Toth] Are you going by car? Allow me to ask, how does your BMW work?

[Grosz] Well. The problem is that it is very complex, and the colleagues have much trouble with it; there are many gadgets in it. That is not very good.

[Toth] Have you driven it?

[Grosz] No, not even for a meter. I very much like to drive, but I do not have the right to drive it. For a very long time I drove my own car, and I drove the official car, but now this is not permitted by the in-house orders.

[Toth] If you cannot drive a car, who are the others who cannot so so?

[Grosz] This decision was formulated earlier for security reasons, that a set sphere of leaders cannot drive a car—as far as I know, at this moment this covers three people: the president of the Presidential Council, the chairman of the Council of Ministers, and the party general secretary. It also is relevant here that these cars are vehicles of great value, and I believe that we are not drivers of great experience. To be sure, this, as well, figures among the viewpoints.

So I fear that I will forget my experience gained through driving for several hundreds of thousands of kilometers. Although some people say that driving is the same as riding a bike, that it cannot really be forgotten.

[Toth] My final question is an invitation: Would you, or even Premier Miklos Nemeth, undertake, perhaps together, to come regularly to the radio and to chat with the listeners, with us, about these very important daily actualities?

[Grosz] I greatly like and highly esteem Miklos Nemeth, as a person, and there also is a friendship between us. Nevertheless, I am not so bold as to speak on his behalf. I, however, am at your disposal, no matter when, if you judge this is justified by the political situation, or if you feel there is space for this in radio's very rich program schedule, in the national radio's program schedule.

[Toth] Then I thank you and wish you all the best.

Nyers, Others on MSZMP's Future
LD0104042889 Budapest Domestic Service
in Hungarian 1630 GMT 31 Mar 89

[Text] A forum on "What is the Hungarian Socialist Workers Party [MSZMP] aiming at?" has been held at the party academy on the political content of the action program adopted by the Central Committee. Rezso Nyers, Janos Berecz, Robert Burgert, and Kalman Pal Magyar replied to questions from the audience. Gyorgy Ney has summed up the discussion:

[Ney] The first group of questions inquired into the kind of party that the MSZMP should be. In Janos Berecz' view, it should be flexible, at home both in the workplace and in the home, and it should strengthen its political movement features instead of its ideological ones. Rezso Nyers said that this party should be the party of the little guy, although he added that this was not really a scientific definition. Still, it cannot be the party for the strengthening bourgeoisie. For example, it can only rely on this stratum; and it is only at a later stage that it will become clear whether it is democracy in the bourgeois meaning of the term or socialist democracy which will turn out to be the dominating direction. Today there is still a need to march together for the reforms.

Kalman Magyar, vice rector of the Semmelweis Medical Science University, considered the interests of the workers to be the most important, together with the directing role of the intelligentsia. Janos Berecz supplemented this by saying that the MSZMP should be the party of those working in production and that it should formulate a separate program for each stratum. Platform freedom is also necessary, he added, because without the intelligentsia—who have never liked ideological constraints—there is no victorious political party.

It was only after the 1st half hour, when the venue was becoming a real forum, that Zsuzsa Jakab, a district party secretary, asked who defines who belongs to which current. Others enquired as to who the fundamentalists are. A contributor said that such labeling has been going on since one of the statements by Rezso Nyers, and that it has been spreading on the basis of the old grievances of the minister of state. The contributor was glad that Janos Berecz has now put this into perspective, so to speak, because this has been our goal. The reality is that the Central Committee secretary said that it was in implementation that solidarity was needed. The new unity of the MSZMP is forming now, and it is personalities and profiles that are needed. The 11 members of the Politburo cannot be expected to have identical opinions on everything. What is more, he dared to say that there was also a need for class leaders.

In Berecz' view, a fundamentalist is one who obstructs reforms and who defends small positions while there should be a need to defend larger stands. He said that the majority of these fundamentalists were in the middle stratum of the party. As for who decides on labels, he said that it is the party organization and the party member himself who decide.

Rezso Nyers began his reply by saying that he was not offering self-criticism—not yet. At this point, there was silence for a moment, then an uncertain murmur ran through the crowd. The minister of state then expounded his view of fundamentalism. Thus, in every movement there are those who keep the flame going, the bearers of old values, but meanwhile the work is progressing; therefore, the fundamentalists are those who do not sense this. As long as somebody feels himself to be a

communist, he has a place in the MSZMP, but he should not intrigue, should not denigrate the party, and should not talk about selling out the country when, for example, the aim of the party leadership is bringing in foreign capital.

I have primarily tried to sum up the interrelations of the contents, but the truth is that chronologically, Judit Loecsei, lecturer at the party academy, spoke before Rezso Nyers' reply. The teacher demanded to know—first in a flattering voice, and then crying—why the party leadership was not taking a stand in defense of the old party members who fought with arms for socialism. Why do they have to walk with downcast eyes, and why do they have to feel like discharged Legionnaires? She did not receive a concrete answer; perhaps other replies by those sitting on the platform calmed her or induced her to change her views. Why was the party membership not involved in the decision of the MSZMP to initiate a multiparty system? Karoly Grosz and Janos Berecz, too, were reared under the wings of Janos Kadar; why did they not ask him those questions which the leaders were able to become acquainted with in yesterday's NEPSZABADSAG? A brief explanation: A Soviet newspaper printed a portrait of Karoly Grosz and assessed the past years, the successes, and also Janos Kadar's mistakes. It was this that yesterday's NEPSZABADSAG quoted.

Janos Berecz replied that collective responsibility had to be increased, but that he does not want a collective calling-to-account to start or defenses of the so-called "I told you so." It is much more important for everyone to remain steadfast in the new situation and for there to be unity and self-respect within the party in the new situation.

Rezso Nyers admitted that the party membership had not been asked about the need for a multiparty system, but he said that if they had been, then the debate would still be continuing.

This reporter disagrees with many things that were voiced at the forum, but he does not doubt this last statement, based precisely on the several-hour-long exchange of views.

Hungarian Independence Party Reorganizes
LD0204214289 Budapest MFI in English
1542 GMT 2 Apr 89

[Text] Budapest, April 2 (MTI)—The Hungarian Independence Party (MFP) started reorganization at a rally held in the Jurta Theatre in Budapest on Sunday [2 April].

The MFP was formed in 1947, and had 49 deputies to parliament. It suspended its activity in 1948, when it lost its mandate, and made an attempt at reorganization in 1956, but failed because of the prevailing political circumstances.

The present party carries the traditional slogan of God, Homeland, Liberty, wishes to comply with the prevailing Constitution, with its objective of serving the common interest of the country, states the draft of its founding document. Tibor Hornyak, chairman of the Hungarian Independence Party in 1956 and now head of the preparatory committee, has given the following outline of the major principles of the party's manifesto.

The MFP is a national and civil party, its ideology is based on the gospels, and it aims to protect the civil values of a society free of any class barriers. It wishes to work within the opposition until the purest possible democracy comes about.

The main political and social objective is to achieve social peace. They reject the omnipotency of state and wish to realize their goals through a democratically elected parliament. The MFP intends to take part in the local self-government, municipal and community elections.

'Left-Wing Youth Federation' Formed
*LD0204200689 Budapest Domestic Service
in Hungarian 1630 GMT 2 Apr 89*

[Text] The Federation of Left-Wing Youth has been formed in Gyor-Sopron County. The new youth organization will be the successor to the Gyor-Sopron Committee of KISZ [Communist Youth League]. This was decided at a county meeting of KISZ delegates.

One of the speakers emphasized that the different youth organizations, because they all want to represent the interests of young people, have to find a possibility for cooperation.

Gaspar To Step Down as WFTU President
*LD2403233189 Budapest MTI in English
2125 GMT 24 Mar 89*

[Text] Budapest, March 24 (MTI)—Sandor Gaspar has announced he is stepping down as president of the World Federation of Trade Unions (WFTU), said Attila Balint, spokesman of the Central Council of Hungarian Trade Unions (SZOT), at a press conference held following the session of the SZOT Presidium on Friday [24 March].

It was discussed at the session that the office of the World Federation of Trade Unions will meet in Havana in early April, at which session the delegates of the Hungarian trade unions will make proposals to further develop the work of the World Federation.

The spokesman said that the trade unions demand further compensation because of earlier price raises, and the sum total amounts to 5,000 million forints. Trade unions propose that the energy price hikes announced early this year and scheduled for May-June be less than planned.

Empress Zita's Son Arrives for Memorial Service
*LD0304101589 Budapest Domestic Service
in Hungarian 0500 GMT 3 Apr 89*

[Excerpts] At 1000 today at Mathias Church in Budapest, Cardinal Laszlo Paskai, archbishop of Esztergom, will conduct a memorial service for [Hapsburg] Empress Zita. Otto Habsburg, who arrived in Budapest yesterday, discusses his mother with correspondent Gabriella Szilagyi.

[Begin recording] [Passage omitted] [Szilagyi] You have been offered for the memorial service the chair that your father occupied during his coronation.

[Habsburg] I did not even know that. Well, I am very pleased.

[Szilagyi] Now that you know this, are you going to accept it?

[Habsburg] Well, I will think about it.

[Szilagyi] Why?

[Habsburg] Well, because I want this visit to be a personal one on the occasion of this mass. I do not want anything political to be made of it, and I do not want it to be misunderstood.

[Szilagyi] What is the significance of the fact that now, after Vienna, we can also celebrate a memorial mass in Hungary for Queen Zita?

[Habsburg] Well, look, after all, my mother was the last crowned queen. So, whatever people might think, she is a part of Hungarian history. Recently published books also very obviously indicate that there is a new feeling toward the Hungarian past, toward Hungarian history, and this is also the basis of Hungary's future. [end recording]

Hundreds Beaten in Antinuclear Demonstration

AU0204204489 Paris AFP in English
1949 GMT 2 Apr 89

[Excerpts] Warsaw, April 2 (AFP)—Riot police beat hundreds of demonstrators with truncheons and suffered 17 hurt among their own ranks Sunday when they forcibly dispersed thousands of anti-nuclear power demonstrators in Poznan, official and Solidarity sources in the western city said.

A Solidarity union spokesman in Poznan, Janusz Palubicki, said the riot police also used teargas and water cannon in the protest against plans to build a nuclear power station at Kelpicz, some 60 kms (35 miles) north of Poznan.

One policeman was hospitalised and five vehicles belonging to the ZOMO riot were damaged, according to the news agency PAP, which said that no-one was arrested and that some 200 people simply had their identities checked.

Meanwhile, in the northern Solidarity stronghold of Gdansk, some 2,000 people demonstrated Sunday, calling for independence for Poland and demanding the resignation of Polish leader Wojciech Jaruzelski.

Witnesses said police were conspicuously absent as demonstrators took to the streets following mass at the parish of Saint Brigit's, which was attended by Solidarity leader Lech Walesa. [passage omitted]

Mr. Palubicki said that in the Poznan demonstration, the demonstrators from various organisations who had gathered for the occasion threw stones at the police in reply to their charges, but were forced to disperse after an hour of clashes.

It was then that many of them were beaten by the police who were out in force.

Opposition sources said similar anti-nuclear demonstrations also took place elsewhere in the Poznan region, at Gorzow-Wielkopolski, Pila and Wronki, but that police did not intervene in those demonstrations.

2,000 Call for Resignation of Jaruzelski

AU0204144889 Paris AFP in English
1330 GMT 2 Apr 89

[Text] Warsaw, April 2 (AFP)—Some 2,000 people demonstrated Sunday in the northern Solidarity stronghold of Gdansk, calling for independence for Poland and demanding the resignation of Polish leader Wojciech Jaruzelski.

Police were conspicuously absent as demonstrators took to the streets following mass at the parish of Saint Brigit's, which was attended by Solidarity leader Lech Walesa.

St. Brigit's serves the Lenin shipyards, hotbed of the opposition movement led by the banned trade union.

Shouting "Down with communists," "There can be no freedom without independence," and "Jaruzelski resign," the demonstrators marched to a nearby monument commemorating the victims of a wave of rioting in the Baltic ports in 1970.

The rioting, which began in Gdansk on December 14, 1970, after the announcement of price increases, quickly spread to other Baltic ports.

Sunday's demonstration marked the first time since 1981 that police allowed demonstrators to gather at the monument.

PZPR Central Committee Holds 11th Plenum

Jaruzelski Addresses Plenum

LD0104011589 Warsaw PAP in English
2250 GMT 31 Mar 89

[Text] Warsaw, March 31—Central Committee [CC] of the Polish United Workers Party held its 11th plenary meeting here today. When opening the debate, CC 1st Secretary Wojciech Jaruzelski said, among other things:

The Political Bureau believes that the platform of the now continuing dialogue, prepared by the Central Committee and enjoying the approval of the coalition forces, should be a political sign post for the final talks and decisions of the round table.

We expect that they will be crowned with agreement on matters which are most vital for the nation's well-being, for the strength of the people's state, for the processes of reforms under conditions of socialist parliamentary democracy.

From this viewpoint, we also have to look at the tasks connected with the upcoming national conference of delegates. It will take place during the difficult election campaign for the Polish parliament and this makes it exceptional.

We have to make efforts to ensure that this event which is so significant in the life of the party is not just doing the statutory obligation to report on the implementation of the resolution of the 10th congress—to secure a high temperature of creative criticism and not to bog down in bargaining and quarrels about the size of our achievements and lags.

The conference should become first of all a review and demonstration of a fighting spirit and density of party ranks, confirmation of determination and willingness to carry out the programme of profound political, social, and economic reforms, to mobilize the feelings and attitudes of party members.

The results of to-date round table solutions concerning the constitutional amendments and changes in the structure of top state institutions are included in the package of bills sent to the Sejm. It is the sovereign right of parliament to make final decisions but considering the weight of the bills we should put the PUWP deputy floor under the obligation to support them.

The party has concluded its reporting-programmatic campaign. It was dominated by a trend of constructive criticism, identification of the sources of weakness and ways to reach the planned social, political, and economic goals. The line of the 10th plenary meeting, despite understandable hesitation, fears, and doubts, has won a growing acceptance, Jaruzelski said.

Wojciech Jaruzelski presented proposals concerning decisions, as he stressed, on the issues of the utmost importance at the moment that should be subject to discussion at the 11th plenum. These included a CC stance on to-date decisions of the round table and a package of draft laws directed to the Sejm, the drawing up of party's strategy in the coming election campaign, a program and assumptions of the National Conference of PUWP Delegates and the new organization of work within the Central Committee.

The floor was taken by member of the CC Secretariat Boguslaw Kolodziejczak who forwarded proposals on organizational changes within the CC. The speaker said that 15 commissions had been set up, with their heads being Political Bureau members and CC secretaries.

The Central Committee adopted three resolutions, including one on convening the National Conference of PUWP Delegates in Warsaw next May 4-5.

Adopts Resolutions

*LD3103213989 Warsaw Television Service in Polish
1730 GMT 31 Mar 89*

[Text] A resolution adopted by the 11th Central Committee plenum has approved the activities of the Politburo, based on the resolution and stand of the 10th plenum. They mark the directions of radical political and systemic reforms, stating their goal is a civic society, a socialist democratic parliamentary state, and the rule of law.

The Central Committee also approved the agreements accepted so far at the roundtable regarding the main issues of hastening and deepening the reforms. The Central Committee expressed the hope that the roundtable talks will be crowned by the negotiation of a social contract in the matters most vital to the welfare of the nation and the socialist state, and that the problems not agreed upon so far will be resolved with a sense of responsibility for the stability and efficient functioning of the political and economic system that is being created.

In connection with the approaching elections to the Sejm and the Senate, the Central Committee has empowered the Central Committee Politburo to undertake cooperation with the supreme authorities of the coalition parties, with organizations of lay Catholics and Christians and with the Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth, with the aim of preparing lists of named candidates proposed as deputies from the national electoral list.

Another resolution concerns the setting up of a National Conference of PZPR Delegates. May we remind you that it is to take place on 4 and 5 May. The Central Committee calls on the Politburo and on all party echelons and party organizations to pay particular attention during preparations for the conference to the problems of the living conditions of working people in the towns and in the countryside—taking particular account of the worsening economic situation of farmers and of old-age and disability pensioners.

Establishes Commissions

*LD3103224289 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish
2100 GMT 31 Mar 89*

[Excerpts] the 11th Polish United Workers Party [PZPR] Central Committee Plenum took place in Warsaw today. Three resolutions were adopted at the end of the proceedings. [passage omitted]

In its third resolution the plenum approved the working rules for the Central Committee, its commissions and Secretariat, and the Central Committee departments. The personal composition of the Central Committee commissions set up by the decision of the 10th plenum was also established.

The Ideological Commission is chaired by Marian Orzechowski; its secretary is Andrzej Czyz. The Culture Commission is chaired by Marian Stepień; its secretary is Tadeusz Sawic. The International Commission is chaired by Jozef Czyrek; its secretary is Ernest Kucza.

The Youth, Associations and Public Organizations Commission is chaired by Leszek Miller; its secretary is (Slawomir Wiatr). The Science and Education Commission is chaired by Marian Orzechowski; its secretary is Boguslaw Kedzia. The Representative Bodies Commission is chaired by Kazimierz Barcikowski; its secretary is Edward Szymanski.

The Party Work Commission is chaired by Zygmunt Czarzasty; its secretary is Maciej Lubczynski. The Law and Law Observance Commission is chaired by Stanislaw Ciosek; its secretary is Andrzej Gdula. The Socio-economic Policy Commission is chaired by Wladyslaw Baka; its secretary is (Janusz Basiak).

The Information Policy Commission is chaired by Stanislaw Ciosek; its secretary is (Slawomir Partkowski). The Countryside and Agrarian Policy Commission is

chaired by Zbigniew Michalek; its secretary is Kazimierz Grzesiak. The Sociopolitical Analyses and Forecasts Commission is chaired by Janusz Reykowski; its secretary is Jan Bluszkowski.

The Commission for Work Among the Intelligentsia is chaired by Iwona Lubowska; its secretary is (Krzysztof Janik). The Workers Commission is chaired by Zbigniew Sobotka; its secretary is Michal Niedzwiedz. The Commission for Complaints, Proposals and Reports from the Public is chaired by Gabriela Rembisz; its secretary is (Marian Kos).

The chairmen of the Central Committee Commissions were appointed by the 10th PZPR Central Committee Plenum; the commissions' secretaries were approved by the 11th plenum.

Central Committee Spokesman Comments
LD3103213789 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish
1700 GMT 31 Mar 89

[Excerpts] [Announcer] The PZPR Central Committee today gathered in Warsaw for its 11th plenary session. [passage omitted] Over to our reporter Jerzy Malczynski:

[Malczynski] We have Jan Bisztyga, newly appointed Central Committee spokesman, at our microphone. Could we begin as follows: Why did the Central Committee decide now, in the current situation, that it should appoint a spokesman?

[Bisztyga] This is an element of much wider changes taking place at the party Central Committee. Already at the 10th plenum it was decided that the Central Committee should move away from the existing mechanisms of the apparatus in the form of departments, as well as from a structure which results from former bureaucratic habits.

[Malczynski] A lot was said about certain experimental models from voivodship committees.

[Bisztyga] We had the very good example of the work of the voivodship committee in Slupsk, where members of the voivodship committee and representatives of the public were involved in collaborating in the apparatus. So, we could say that in the party itself there was a concentration of pluralistic approaches toward many issues. This was taken into consideration at the well-known Politburo session in Slupsk, as a model of sorts for considerations on how this could be organized at the Central Committee. That is why the commissions established here are composed of members of the Central Committee, managers of all manner of Central Committee organizational units, but also of people from outside, that is all those who have something to say about the functioning of the party and its influence on society.

Every intellectual structure has to have an organizational base, and this organizational base is formed by the secretariats. Again, the secretariats are not officials but experts from various fields who, as a service to the working commissions, carry out all sorts of work—appraisals, analyses, and forecasts. Today the party does not need bureaucratic administration but a maximal mental effort toward all those components which consist in researching the reality and drawing conclusions.

I believe the decision of today's plenum, which establishes the personnel composition of all these party units, reflects great changes in the way the party and its leadership think about the effectiveness of action.

[Malczynski] Does that mean there will be no departments in the Central Committee?

[Bisztyga] There will be no departments. There will be secretariats which will service the commissions, of which there are a dozen or so. You can read about this in the press.

[Malczynski] We have talked about organizational matters, but the plenum also debated current political issues and political events in the immediate future.

[Bisztyga] I think the most important thing was to adopt a position toward the phenomena, or even processes, resulting from the roundtable. I think that the resolution adopted by the Central Committee, which will be published by this evening, will convey to the public the entire complexity of the problems connected with the position of the Central Committee. The complexity consists in the fact that the party supports the process it has been leading for many years, which it initiates. It is the process of accord and reforms. At the present stage this process has accelerated and has acquired a revolutionary expression. In other words, we are crossing over a certain historic threshold. This is conveyed by the revolution adopted today by the Central Committee.

[Malczynski] There were also the preparations to the national delegates conference and the issue of the election campaign.

[Bisztyga] I think that what is being said about the preparations for the national delegates conference includes election issues, issues of party preparation for the elections. The national delegates conference is a statutory duty, but this year it has special significance. This national delegates conference at the same time has to be a kind of electoral convention, such as a party entering a great election battle generally organizes in respect to its base prior to such a campaign.

[Malczynski] When is the national delegates conference to take place?

[Biszytyga] It was decided that the national delegates conference would take place 4-5 May. On the agenda will be the statutory presentation of a resolution on the implementation of the decisions of the 10th congress, and—as I have already mentioned—a resolution on PZPR participation in the elections; but there will also be a very important resolution on removing remnants of Stalinism in Poland. There will be a very important resolution on international affairs, which will reflect the great complexity, but also certain imperatives for Polish society, for the party, in matters of our attitude toward present-day phenomena in international relations.

[Malczynski] Thank you very much.

[Announcer] The PZPR Central Committee Plenum continues.

Rakowski TV Address Focuses on Roundtable

LD0104211789 Warsaw PAP in English
2010 GMT 1 Apr 89

[Text] Warsaw, April 1—Polish television today aired another address by Premier Mieczyslaw Rakowski who at the beginning of the speech presented his opinions on the round table debate.

"I believe that the round table is an event of great significance for Poland, both the one of today as well as the one to exist in five, ten, 15 or 20 years. My opinion is that the round table creates the chance of getting on the last straight.

"The government resolved that after the round table comes to end all the tabled postulates, demands and needs will be put on a list and then we shall make an economic calculus and say what can be realized and what in fact is wishful thinking alone.

"The pressure on wages leads to the growth of prices which in turn calls for higher wages. What is the government's attitude to this matter? If an enterprise is able to work out means it is clear that it can use them in such way that it finds appropriate. I called on banks to inform the government which enterprises exceeded their financial means, who is on the verge of bankruptcy. The full list will be published in press," Rakowski said.

"Another list covers the enterprises which have been warned by the banks that they may lose their creditworthiness due to the excessive pay rises. In my Sejm expose I said that the government will follow three priority goals. In the first place I mentioned farming and food industry, in the second—housing and in the third—the protection of natural environment. I want to say that over half a year, or a year it is impossible to change the situation which has existed and accumulated for tens of years. This is simply impossible," the premier said.

I said it in the Sejm and I repeat it again that I am not a magician. If justified claims are made, but they cannot be met, please, do not blame for renouncing the obligations I took in the Sejm. I will remain faithful to them, everything, however, must be put into realities.

Continuing his speech, Rakowski mentioned the issue of the third government's priority, namely the environmental protection. Several billion zlotys, he said, are assigned for the purpose from the state's budget, but it is still not enough for satisfying the needs.

We have got used, continued the premier, that for years there has been no food trade but only food supplies. It is not profitable for farmers to produce (food), consumers in towns say that food is too expensive, and the budget is too tight as it has to be continuously subsidized. We think, stressed Rakowski, that the food economy cannot be cured by means of price operations but genuine market mechanisms must be introduced.

We will show courage that we need so much, stated Mieczyslaw Rakowski, and will undertake a market-oriented reform of agriculture and of the whole food economy since maintaining of the present situation may actually lead to food shortages, and later on, at the next stage, to social conflicts.

We are sure not to make any rapid changes as we must do nothing hasty in this sphere, declared the premier. Therefore, I repeat once again, a little patience is needed.

The question of old age and disability pensions was the last question raised in Premier Rakowski's address.

Rakowski Interviewed on Roundtable, Goals

AU3003144089 Budapest NEPSZABADSAG
in Hungarian 25 Mar 89 p 17

[Interview with Prime Minister Mieczyslaw Rakowski by Jozsef K. Nyiro in Warsaw: "Rakowski Facing the Challenges"; date not given]

[Text] A new Polish Government headed by Mieczyslaw Rakowski was formed almost 6 months ago, and several of its measures have generated storms in the life of Polish domestic policy. Although many people in many places criticize the government's activity, there is a uniform opinion that there has been a clear change in government activity since Rakowski took office. According to statistics published by public opinion research projects, more than half of the population sympathizes with the cabinet and the prime minister himself. How does he evaluate the country's political and economic situation, what tasks has the government taken upon itself, and what tasks has it not taken upon itself?—we asked Mieczyslaw Rakowski.

[Nyiro] The first months of the Rakowski government have been quite stormy. The whole country debated some of its decisions—such as the decision to close the Gdansk shipyards. What guided the government when it made its first decisions?

[Rakowski] The government I am heading used its first period in office to demonstrate that we want to implement multilateral and comprehensive reforms, primarily economic reforms, but also social and political reforms.

[Nyiro] You obviously started from an advantageous position, after the previous government, which had been extremely unpopular.

[Rakowski] Yes, we were in a good position because the public was quite dissatisfied with the previous government and accused it of implementing the reform extremely slowly and far from perfectly. Of course, the trade unions greatly contributed to this opinion, and they practically brought about the fall of the Messner cabinet. In modern history it has been very rare for a trade union to overthrow a government, but this happened here. Well, for all these reasons my government has been striving to make decisions that make it clear to the public that we want reforms.

In this first period of almost 6 months, the government was active in two fundamental areas. First, the activity of legislation—by submitting laws and draft laws to the Sejm which will enable the creation of a completely new economic model. The various laws adopted in recent months—and here I mean the entrepreneurial law, the law on mixed enterprises, and the law on banks and hard currency—have already outlined the new social and economic structure that we want to create. The prevailing limitations in society's awareness are what bothers us most in this area, and I think the same thing also bothers you Hungarians. These limitations do not allow the necessary drastic reform or reorganization of the system.

[Nyiro] Could you give us an example to demonstrate this problem?

[Rakowski] Of course, I can give you a classic example from past weeks. It is obvious that we have to restructure Polish industry. Accordingly, we have considered the possibility of closing a few mines—inefficient mines, of course. The moment this plan became known, the president of the miners federation called it unfortunate. He in fact demanded that the old structures, which make the reform practically impossible, be maintained.

[Nyiro] You have mentioned two areas of government activity. You have already talked about one of them, the activity of legislation. What is the other area?

[Rakowski] I would sum this up as follows: the elimination of everything that we have introduced in a few decades but which has made the people's lives more difficult in practical terms. There are many such matters,

such as that of passports. Today Polish people can keep their passports at home, and with this decision a decades-old dream came true for our people. Today, if we ask anyone why it was necessary to take away people's passports, it is impossible to give a rational answer; however, this was general practice for a long time. A similar case was the hard currency issue. Today our people are allowed to take Western currency out of the country without having to run around banks for various certificates. With the new currency law we have also eliminated another clear misunderstanding, namely whoever has U.S. dollars has to hide them, or has no right to buy or sell U.S. dollars. All these things led to the emergence of a gang of speculators who made a good living out of this, and this was obviously not the correct thing to do, but nevertheless this practice also lasted for decades. There are still many such things in force, and it is not easy to change all these things because change goes against the people's habits, and against bureaucrats. After all, the hordes of bureaucrats are average citizens who also walk the streets. It is obviously not true that this group of people fell from the sky or came here from the Kremlin.

Well, to put it briefly, there has been a favorable reaction to our measures in society and, accordingly, there has been an increase in our society's support and sympathy for our government. A paradoxical situation has emerged in which there is support for the prime minister, while the people's mood has deteriorated because of the economic situation, inflation, and the shortages.

[Nyiro] But the economic situation is far from satisfactory.

[Rakowski] Indeed, this is the fundamental problem we are facing, the increase in inflation and the pressure to increase wages. There is a fire spreading now over Poland, and everyone is demanding an increase of Z30,000 in their wages. Thus, we are now facing a new version of egalitarianism. Every day we talk about the need for differentiation to accompany the reforms, and, in general, people accept this and say that it is all right; but as for themselves, each of them wants first a Z30,000 increase in wages. This demand then appears generally in the form of a strike.

In connection with all this, the government's view is that the enterprises should increase wages as much as they want, provided they have the funds to finance this increase. As far as we know, these strikes have not completely achieved their goals anywhere. From all these things, I draw the conclusion that, on the one hand, these strikes are clearly largely antireform strikes, while on the other hand, it should also be clear that in the coming period the reform will be faced with increasing opposition rather than decreasing opposition. This is the greatest misfortune of the reform-oriented people here.

[Nyiro] To what extent do the roundtable discussions, in which the government is conducting a dialogue with its coalition partners, help the Polish social and economic processes?

[Rakowski] Speaking about economic issues—and one of the working committees is dealing with these issues—there are often extremely critical observations addressed to the government. Various demands are voiced, and when we sum up all these justified and often correct demands, and find out how much all this would cost, then we see that we would need five times the current budget to satisfy them. This, of course, is not realistic. However, I think we should analyze all the observations made at the roundtable very thoroughly and without prejudice, because one can sometimes see more from the outside than one can from within the power apparatus. However, I do not think that any brilliant proposal will emerge at this table that will lead to a radical transformation of the Polish economy. If anyone expected otherwise, this would only represent a well-developed naivete, which is not necessarily a characteristic of grown-up people.

[Nyiro] What about the political debates in the roundtable discussions?

[Rakowski] This roundtable is a pioneering attempt to include the opposition in the political structure of the socialist system. We do not yet have a clear answer to the question of whether we will succeed in this or not. Although the moderate opposition has displayed its willingness to cooperate, they are also asking for 4 years to organize themselves and then for free elections to finish us off. The moderate opposition also says this, and we can only be grateful to them for doing this openly and not wanting to deceive anyone. In spite of all this, I think that the roundtable is an important and positive development of the socialist system in our land, but I do not think that it is a panacea, even more so because we are talking about a lengthy historical process. Generally speaking, with its economic conditions and the ensuing social conditions, socialism has demoralized the people. It has driven the people away from work. Man has become an executor and not a creator. We need at least a generation to move away from this situation. People who believe that even the best social, economic, and political reforms will be able to change the socialist reality in Poland, Hungary, the Soviet Union, or anywhere else in 1 or 2 years, just because they have a so-called highly effective program, are simply deceiving themselves. Any such change requires a longer period of time, considering that, in some 40 years, our society and we all have grown up under totally different circumstances and have set totally different standards, on the basis of which we evaluated our efforts.

Speaking now about Poland, we should regard the spread of right-wing trends as a clearly negative phenomenon. This trend has always existed, but we blocked it with certain methods of exercising power. It has now emerged

again and we are clearly facing a bitter, anticommunist trend. I am convinced that most of the organizations to emerge following the adoption of the Polish law on associations will also be right-wing organizations. Of course, the situation would be quite different if we could base the changes we envisage on genuine economic results. However, as far as I know about how things work, the countries that are progressing in the vanguard of reform are not seeing much improvement in their economic situation.

From this point of view, the Polish party is facing a great historical challenge, and its fate, as well as the fate of socialism in Poland, depend on the party's intellectual and political ability. We are facing a hard test, especially if we consider the fact that our successes could give an impetus to the rebirth of the left wing in the entire historical sense of the word, because, obviously, this is not only a Polish, Hungarian, or Soviet affair. When I speak about the left wing, I do not mean only the communists, but generally people who want to change the world in the direction of greater social justice, equal opportunities, and respect for human rights.

When I think about my life, I am a little sorry that I am already 62 years old. I would like to be about 10 years younger because then I would probably enjoy the results of the current changes. However, I belong to the generation that opened up the way and which is struggling with obstacles, social opposition, lack of money, and impatience.... Well, destiny does not spare Marxists either.

[Nyiro] You have recently repeatedly drawn attention to the fact that there are also economic limitations to democratization. In other words, if there is no economic progress, the process of democratization can also come to a sudden halt.

[Rakowski] Yes, the matter is simple: If there is no progress in the economy, democracy can lead to a point where the people take to the streets and overthrow the government. Of course, there is a period when one can be satiated with democracy and when people are satisfied that they can organize and can openly express their opinions without being thrown into jail for it. However, this period is followed by the moment when people have a look in the cupboard, and if they find it empty, they will say to hell with democracy, particularly if there are other points of comparison—in extremely simplified terms, they will say that when they had no democracy they had ham, and now... Besides, everything happening now in the Soviet Union is a classic example of this: Many people there say: "Why this restructuring, when life is worse than it used to be." Besides, this is another challenge we must face....

People got mad at me, or more precisely, they thought that I was opposing the roundtable conference because I declared that, as prime minister, I was more interested in what we see on the kitchen table than the debates, and

they said I was belittling everything that should be settled at the roundtable. In my view, for millions of Poles, what they see on their dinner table every day is more important than what happens at the roundtable. The link is a very strong one and involves an awkward situation, namely that, while we are unable to fulfill the increasing financial and material demands, all of us—the opposition too—have great ideas on a democratic state.

[Nyiro] During your negotiations aimed at forming your government, you also wanted to include opposition members in your cabinet. Do you still see any chance of this?

[Rakowski] I do not see any chance of this anymore, all the more so because, the moment the opposition gets into the government, it ceases to be an opposition. The goal of the opposition now is to get into the parliament and become a recognized opposition. I do not have anything against this. However, when I analyze now the proposals made during the talks on the formation of a cabinet, I must admit that I was definitely an idealist when I believed that the opposition wanted to accept a government office. Besides, if the new power relations develop in the parliament, there will be no need for the opposition to get into the government.

[Nyiro] You also mentioned that the trade union had overthrown your predecessor. Now, you will probably also have Solidarity and Peasants Solidarity, in addition to the National Trade Union Confederation [OPZZ]. Are you not afraid of these three trade unions?

[Rakowski] I am afraid, but I have become used to these things because I already had such experience in 1981, and so I am not a novice in these matters. At the same time, it is also clear that, from the viewpoint of national interests, the appearance of these three trade unions could also have negative results. This could start a period when one would outbid the other in a demagogic way, in who demands more. Besides, we have already been given a taste of all this in recent weeks. If this overbidding took place, I would be rather pessimistic about the possibilities of implementing our reform policy.

Besides, this demanding trade union position, and this entire philosophy characterized the last century. In the second half of the current century, the trade unions in the developed capitalist countries are protecting their own interests mainly through the interests of the firms. For example, when development slightly decreased in Sweden at the beginning of the eighties, what did the trade unions do? They created an investment fund. In Poland, however, the system works like this: "Give me money, and that is it." I think that this philosophy proves our backwardness, not so much in our economy but in our awareness. But there are other strange things. For example, the working year in Poland is 1 week shorter than in the FRG, France, or England. We want to achieve more in a shorter working year and with a child-care leave of 3 years. This is my tragedy, and that

of the reform-oriented people. It is difficult to explain to each family separately that they should stop their demands for at least 2-3 years, so that we can stand on our feet again. Then, if we produce more, they will have more.

[Nyiro] You are a member of the Polish United Workers Party [PZPR] Central Committee and are bound by party discipline; at the same time, the public could see a sovereign premier in you. How, in fact, do you see the division of labor between the party and the government?

[Rakowski] As a model that developed in Poland over the last 40 years, and this model led to a government, a government of all the citizens, which was primarily the government of a single party, a party that is not necessarily the party of all Poles. When my predecessor left office, he declared that he was not alone in making the decisions, and by this he meant that someone else was also involved in making those decisions. In fact, he was right, but this was his mistake. Personally, I think that the government I am leading should do away with the concept that the power is not in this building, but in some other building. In other words, the government should prove its independence. However, the fact that I am a party member should also provide guarantees that I am implementing the party guidelines. Nothing more. We can no longer continue the practice in which I pick up the phone and ask the head of the Central Committee department what I should do. I will not call even a Central Committee secretary for this. Of course, a prime minister should also recognize the existence of some authority above himself. For me, this is the leader of the party. This is not because I disregard the other comrades or think they are limited people; the reason is that if "power equals government," if it is to be interpreted as the power of all Poles, then this really cannot be replaced by a party apparatus.

Then, for example, we have this specific concept here: political decision. This meant in practice that the Politburo took a position on issues about which it had no idea, or it relied on material it received from the government. When the decision was made, the government said it was not its affair, as this had been a political decision. So far I have never said that we should take this or that issue to the Politburo. Thanks to this policy, many people see the government as the major center of power in Poland today. All this happens for the benefit of the political party, and not against it.

[Nyiro] In conclusion, let me ask you a question about Hungarian-Polish relations: What is your opinion about our relations?

[Rakowski] I consider them very good relations and, personally, I am especially grateful to the Hungarian comrades—to Janos Kadar in particular—for expressing their understanding, confidence, and friendship toward me in the difficult years, when I was not recognized or accepted in some countries.

Speaking a little more generally about our relations, it is a pity that something has begun to deteriorate, but not between us; rather we, the socialist countries, are not together enough. We are facing great problems and today each of us wants to solve these problems alone, and this can hardly be successful. For example, I would greatly welcome not only bilateral but also broader meetings at which we could reflect on the great problems of today. Western countries consistently approach each other and negotiate and debate. On our side, we read reports at the Warsaw Pact and CEMA meetings. Then we have to force ourselves to read between the lines, as if another report were written there in invisible ink. I think that these shortcomings are still valid, and although I do not see any tension in our relations, these shortcomings have prompted me to make these broader observations.

[Nyiro] Thank you for the interview.

Further on Prime Minister's Visit to Kuwait

Holds News Conference

AU2903102289 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU
in Polish 23 Mar 89 p 9

[Text] PAP Kuwait—On the final day of his visit to Kuwait, Mieczyslaw F. Rakowski, chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Polish People's Republic, held a news conference for a group of Kuwaiti and foreign correspondents at his residence on 22 March. Asked about his impression of the visit and the talks he had held, he said that this was his first visit to Kuwait. There is no doubt that Kuwait arouses admiration and even envy, he said. Kuwait is playing a major role in international trade and in shaping the situation not just in the Arab world, but outside it. My meetings with the emir and prime minister were fruitful and devoid of formality, and the talks were frank. There was no attempt to hide thoughts and intentions about international problems and the problems of this part of the world. I discovered, M. Rakowski continued, that my hosts are very interested in the situation in Poland and the socialist countries, and they wish us success in overcoming our problems. I am completely satisfied with the visit. Although it was not the purpose of the visit to conclude any official contracts or agreements, we encountered not only support for our intention to indulge in trade with Kuwait and take part in major investment projects, but practical encouragement as well. My interlocutors, who included several ministers, called for more aggressiveness, initiative, and commitment from our industrialists and traders, said M. Rakowski.

The premier also underlined his Kuwaiti interlocutors' great interest in the changes in our economy. I am pleased to say that they are aware of the changes in Poland, including the decisions that permit foreign

investments in our country. I am leaving Kuwait convinced that it is possible to increase our exports to Kuwait and that Polish firms may compete with Western ones for participation in investment projects in Kuwait.

Answering the next question, the premier confirmed that Kuwait is interested in using the Gdansk oil refinery to process Kuwaiti oil. Nevertheless, Kuwait has asked for concrete propositions. When I return to Poland, I will ask the relevant institutions to deal with the matter and present suitable proposals.

Asked about financial guarantees for those willing to invest in Poland, M. Rakowski said: We are making our economy more open and carrying out a profound economic restructuring, and we are making it possible for Polish enterprises to be completely independent. We are severely curtailing state interference in enterprises. I think that the very nature and substance of the economic changes in Poland provide the required financial guarantee, said M. Rakowski.

M. Rakowski also spoke about his visit to Iraq, the situation in Poland, and the possibilities of increasing the presence of Polish culture, art, and science in the Arab countries.

Replying to a question about Poland's stance on international issues and on his talks in Kuwait, M. Rakowski said that there were no differences in view about such fundamental issues and principles of international coexistence as every people's right to self-determination and independence. My interlocutors in Iraq and Kuwait appreciated our stance toward the problems of the Arab world. This was and still is an unequivocal policy, devoid of double thinking.

Communique on Visit

AU2803145189 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU
in Polish 23 Mar 89 p 9

[PAP report: "Communique Following M. F. Rakowski's Visit to Kuwait"]

[Text] M.F. Rakowski, chairman of the Council of Ministers, paid an official visit to Kuwait 20-22 March 1989 at the invitation of Shaykh Sa'd al-'Abdallah al-Salim al-Sabah, crown prince and premier of Kuwait.

M.F. Rakowski was received by Shaykh Jabir al-Ahmad al-Jabir al-Sabah, amir of Kuwait. During the course of friendly talks, the head of the Polish Government conveyed a message to the amir from Wojciech Jaruzelski, chairman of the State Council, and an invitation to visit Poland. It was received with satisfaction.

M. F. Rakowski held talks with Prime Minister Shaykh Sa'd al-'Abdallah al-Salim al-Sabah, and met Shaykh Sabah al-Ahmad al-Jabir al-Sabah, deputy prime minister and minister of foreign affairs; Shaykh 'Ali al-Khalifa al-Adbi al-Sabah, minister of oil and industry; Jasim

Muhammad al-Kharafi, minister of finance and planning; and Abd al-Aziz al-Saqir, president of the Kuwaiti Chamber of Commerce and Industry.

The talks between the two premiers took place in an atmosphere of cordiality, friendship, and mutual understanding. They discussed the current state of bilateral relations and mapped out directions for their further development. They exchanged views on key international and regional problems and noted that their views on these issues were identical or convergent. The two sides positively appraised Polish-Kuwaiti relations and their prospects. They affirmed their desire to expand cooperation in all areas, especially in the economic sphere.

The two sides briefed each other on the main directions of socioeconomic development and foreign policy activity. The Polish side described the economic reforms, including the new legal measures facilitating foreign investment activity in Poland. It expressed interest in Kuwaiti investment in Poland.

The Kuwaiti side set out its economic plans for the next few years. It accepted Poland's proposals concerning the enhancement of economic cooperation with the intention of studying them.

Motivated by a desire to give Polish-Kuwaiti cooperation a long-term character and in the belief that this will promote the interests of both countries and peoples and the cause of peace and international cooperation, the two sides indicated that the following were necessary:

- the development of political dialogue between the two states, especially at a high, state level;
- the holding of periodic political consultations between the ministers of foreign affairs;
- cooperation in the international arena, including cooperation at the forum of the United Nations, and the expansion of contacts between Polish and Kuwaiti diplomatic missions in third countries;
- the facilitating of contacts between other ministries as well as institutions and organizations interested in direct cooperation.

The two sides stressed the need to further expand economic relations between the two countries by increasing trade, realizing joint projects, employing highly qualified specialists, greater cooperation in the science and technology field, technology transfer, and financial and banking cooperation.

The two sides will support joint ventures in their own countries and in third markets, including joint activities pertaining to the chemical and petrochemical industry.

The two sides agreed to hold a meeting of the joint committee envisaged by the Polish-Kuwaiti agreement on economic and technical cooperation in 1989.

The two sides will support direct cooperation between central planning organs, as well as cooperation in the health care field.

The two sides expressed a desire to establish a broader legal basis for bilateral relations and the conclusion of agreements on supporting and protecting investments, legal assistance, the avoidance of double taxation, reciprocal recognition of college diplomas and academic titles, as well as of a program on cultural and scientific cooperation.

The two sides exchanged assessments of the situation in specific regions and in the world as a whole. They expressed support for the process of detente between East and West, disarmament, and for the elimination of nuclear and chemical weapons.

Poland and Kuwait expressed the belief that the consolidation of trends toward detente in the world is in the vital interest of all states and peoples. This is because these processes aid the construction of a universal system of security and what this entails—that is, they lead to increased confidence in international relations, the strengthening of the independence and sovereignty of states, as well as a greater role for the United Nations in resolving mankind's global problems.

The Polish side described the situation in Europe in greater detail and its contribution to these processes in the form of its plan for reducing weapons and increasing confidence in central Europe.

The Kuwaiti side described the situation in the Middle East and stressed the favorable new conditions that have arisen for aiding the resolution of local conflicts by peaceful means. It pointed to Kuwait's contribution in this area.

The Polish side expressed recognition for the work of the Arab League's six-man committee for the settlement of the crisis in Lebanon, which is chaired by Shayk Sabah al-Ahmad al-Jabir al-Sabah, the Kuwait deputy prime minister and minister of foreign affairs.

The two sides expressed satisfaction with the cessation of hostilities between Iraq and Iran and expressed support for the full implementation of Security Council Resolution 598, which provides the basis for a just settlement of the conflict and the restoration of peace in this part of the world. They expressed resolute support for the activities of the UN secretary general in this respect.

The two sides affirmed their positions on the need to convoke an international conference on the Middle East under the aegis of the United Nations as quickly as possible. At the same time, they indicated that a lasting

and just settlement of the conflict in the Middle East must provide for the realization of the Palestinian people's inalienable right to self-determination, reflected in the declaration of Palestine's independence of 15 November 1988, as well as guarantees of a secure existence within internationally recognized borders for all states in the region. They reiterated support for and solidarity with the Palestinian uprising in the occupied territories and condemned the Israeli repression of the Palestinian population.

The two sides deemed the official visit to Kuwait by the head of the Polish Government an important event in bilateral relations on an international level, and considered that it marked the opening of a new stage in friendly cooperation between Poland and Kuwait.

M.F. Rakowski, chairman of the Council of Ministers, expressed thanks for the hospitality accorded him on Kuwaiti soil and invited Shayk Sa'd al-'Abadallah al-Salim al-Sabah, the crown prince and prime minister, to pay an official visit to Poland. The invitation was accepted with satisfaction.

Leaders' Public Appearances 22-28 March
AU3103173489

[Editorial Report] Polish press monitored 23-29 March reports the following appearances of Polish leaders (source of each report given in parentheses):

Premier Mieczyslaw F. Rakowski received Stanislaw Kukuryka, Polish ambassador to Libya, on 24 March. (Warsaw WARSAW LUDU in Polish 25-27 Mar 89 p 2)

Kazimierz Barcikowski, Politburo member and State Council deputy chairman, received Zbigniew Gertych, Polish ambassador to the United Kingdom, on 24 March. (Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 25-27 Mar 89 p 2)

Jozef Czyrek, Politburo member and Central Committee secretary, received Istvan Roska, new Hungarian ambassador, on 22 March. (Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 23 Mar 89 p 2)

Alfred Miodowicz, Politburo member and chairman of the National Trade Union Confederation (OPZZ), met with Kari Tapiela, chief of the Finnish trade unions, in Warsaw on 22 March. (Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 23 Mar 89 p 2) On 28 March, he visited the "Wiepofama" factory in Poznan. (Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 29 Mar 89 p 2)

Marian Orzechowski, Politburo member and Central Committee secretary, toured Krakow and met with party activists on 22 March. (Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 23 Mar 89 p 2) He visited the agricultural machine factory in Chojnow on 23 March. (Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 24 Mar 89 p 2)

Zygmunt Czarzasty, Central Committee secretary, attended a meeting of PZPR urban committee first secretaries in Warsaw on 22 March. (Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 23 Mar 89 p 1)

Leszek Miller, Central Committee secretary, met with workers in Zamosc on 24 March. (Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 25-27 Mar 89 p 2)

Marian Stepień, Central Committee secretary, met with members of the young creative intelligentsia in Warsaw on 24 March. (Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 25-27 Mar 89 p 2)

Foreign Minister Tadeusz Olechowski received Michael E. Sherifis, outgoing Cypriot ambassador, on 23 March. (Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 24 Mar 89 p 2)

Uruguayan Foreign Minister Makes Official Visit

Arrives 28 March

AU2803184589 Bucharest AGERPRES in English
1820 GMT 28 Mar 89

[Text] Bucharest, AGERPRES, 28/3/1989—On March 28 the foreign minister of the Eastern Republic of Uruguay, Luis Barrios Tassano, arrived in Bucharest for an official visit to Romania upon an invitation extended by the Romanian minister of foreign affairs, Ioan Totu.

Meets With Ceausescu

AU3003183789 Bucharest AGERPRES in English
1735 GMT 30 Mar 89

[Text] Bucharest, AGERPRES, 30/3/1989—On Thursday, 30 March, Romania's President Nicolae Ceausescu received Luis Barrios Tassano, foreign minister of the Eastern Republic of Uruguay, who paid a visit to Romania.

President Nicolae Ceausescu was conveyed a cordial salute on behalf of President Julio Maria Sanguinetti.

Thanking, President Nicolae Ceausescu sent his warm salute to President Julio Maria Sanguinetti.

During the interview emphasis was placed on the good relations of friendship and collaboration developing between the two countries and peoples on the basis of full equality of rights and mutual advantage. The wish was expressed to work for the further development of the Romanian-Uruguayan cooperation in the political domain, for the expansion of the economic cooperation, of trade exchanges in particular, for the expansion of the technical-scientific and cultural ties as well as in other fields.

Current aspects of the international political life were also approached, special attention being paid to the questions regarding the instauration of a climate of peace and security, of understanding and broad collaboration among nations.

Appreciating that the fundamental issue of contemporary age is the cessation of the arms race and achievement of disarmament, President Nicolae Ceausescu underscored the necessity that efficient measures be adopted for the concomitant liquidation of nuclear and chemical weapons.

At the same time, reference was made to the significance of settling all conflicts, both in Central American and in other regions of the globe, only by peaceful means, by negotiations.

In connection with the world economic situation, emphasis was placed on the importance of solving the underdevelopment questions, including the developing countries' huge foreign debts, of instaurating a new

world economic order based on equality and equity and which should favour the quicker progress of all states, of the lagging-behind ones in particular. In this framework, stress was laid on the fact that the liquidation of the foreign debts and the socioeconomic development of each country represent the main way of consolidating national independence and sovereignty.

Meets Press, Departs

AU3003193889 Bucharest AGERPRES in English
1917 GMT 30 Mar 89

["Respect and Admiration for President Nicolae Ceausescu's Outlook Regarding the Settlement of International Issues—Statements Made by the Foreign Minister of the Eastern Republic of Uruguay, Luis Barrios Tassano"—AGERPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest, AGERPRES, 30/03/1989—On Thursday, 30 March, the minister of foreign affairs of the Eastern Republic of Uruguay, Luis Barrios Tassano, left Bucharest after the official visit he paid to Romania over 28-30 March. During his visit, the Uruguayan foreign minister had talks at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the Ministry of Foreign Trade and International Economic Cooperation and visited places of social and cultural interest in Bucharest.

Before leaving, the foreign minister of the Eastern Republic of Uruguay, Luis Barrios Tassano, met with representatives of the Romanian press and radio and television.

In his statement made on this occasion Luis Barrios Tassano expressed his full satisfaction at having been received by Romania's President Nicolae Ceausescu. On this occasion—the guest said—we had a very useful, cordial and comprehensive interview regarding the development and the existing possibilities for the further expansion of the bilateral ties in the political, economic, cultural and other fields of common interest. I take this as an important and positive step in the consolidation of our bilateral relations, for the benefit of the two peoples.

We also approached current aspects of the international life and we could note with satisfaction that Romania and Uruguay shared identical opinions and views almost on all the topics approached and discussed. As far as disarmament is concerned, we are highly appreciative of Romania's stance on the need for palpable steps in that area. We share Romania's concern for the problems of disarmament in general and of nuclear disarmament in particular. Uruguay takes interest in the Vienna talks on conventional disarmament. We also share similar viewpoints on the need for the settlement of interstate conflicts exclusively through negotiations, dialogue and talks.

The interview with President Nicolae Ceausescu, the guest pointed out, proceeded in a very warm atmosphere and provided for a broad exchange of opinions. I wish to

once again express respect and admiration for President Nicolae Ceausescu's outlook on the resolution of the problems of the international life, my personal feelings of sympathy and sincere appreciation.

Close relations of collaboration within the Group of 77 develop between Romania and the Latin American countries, the speaker said. Romania, as a member of the Latin-American sub-group, has made a prestigious, highly appreciated contribution, through its sustained, constant efforts, to the assertion of the ideals of peace and collaboration in the world.

The speaker also highlighted the democratic process now in full progress almost in all Latin American states and showed that a sustained development of the countries in the area was needed for its consolidation. In that context, he referred to the foreign debt that burdens Latin America, preventing the growth of the economy at an adequate rate, which leads to instability and social tensions. The foreign debt problem, the guest said, cannot be approached from a financial point of view alone; it has turned into a real political, economic, and social issue that calls for a global, just, and equitable settlement.

As for the crisis in Central America, the speaker underscored the need to observe regional peace accords, to put an end to all foreign interference and to settle conflicts by political means, through negotiations.

In conclusion, the guest showed that though brief his visit to Romania had been intense and rich in very pleasant impressions. I could get acquainted with the remarkable achievements in the country's development, with the successes in the modernization of the capital city, with the much coveted rate of housing construction, which are as many expressions of the progress Romania has made in various areas of activity, he said.

Ceausescu Chairs PEC Meeting 31 March
AU3103183289 Bucharest AGERPRES in English
1749 GMT 31 Mar 89

["Meeting of the Executive Political Committee of the CC of the RCP"—AGERPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest, AGERPRES, 31/03/1989—Gathered on Friday, March 31, under the chairmanship of the general secretary of the Romanian Communist Party, Nicolae Ceausescu, the Executive Political Committee of the Central Committee [CC] of the RCP debated documents to be submitted to the plenary meeting of the party Central Committee on 12 April, 1989.

During the meeting the Executive Political Committee analysed and approved the proposals regarding the orientative levels of Romania's socioeconomic development in 1990 and throughout the 1991-1995 five-year period.

The Executive Political Committee highly appreciated the elaboration, on profoundly scientific bases, of these proposals, the way in which the entire activity was carried through for substantiating the country's development levels for the next five-year period which were examined in several stages in the economy as a whole, by branches, ministries and by territorial units in direct relation with the fundamental requirements of the ever more powerful increase of production forces, the uninterrupted increase of national wealth, the general progress of the Romanian socialist society.

Stress was laid on the fact that the fulfilment, in good conditions, of the targets in the plan for 1990 ensures the integral implementation of the resolutions of the thirteenth congress and the national conference of the party, marking the successful conclusion of the eighth five-year period 1986-1990, of an important stage in the country's development and in Romania's passage to a superior stage of socioeconomic development, on the path of building multilaterally developed socialist society and advancing to communism.

The Executive Political Committee emphasized that the general orientations of development in the next five-year period 1991-1995—set in full accord with the country's real possibilities and which are to be at the basis of the programme and guidelines to be debated by the entire party and people and submitted for approval to the Fourteenth RCP Congress—lay special stress on the intensive development of the entire national economy, on the implementation of the programmes of scientifically organizing and modernizing production, on the basis of the latest gains of science and technology, on the attainment of a new quality of work in all fields.

The next quinquennium—the RCP general secretary underscored—should be the quinquennium of implementing the modernization programmes, of increasing efficiency, technical and qualitative level of the entire production. We should act so that Romania becomes a country with highly qualitative and competitive products comparable with the world best.

The proposals regarding the orientative levels also stipulate the substantial increase of agricultural—plant and animal—production by making better use of all conditions posed by socialist agriculture, the implementation of all targets of the new agrarian revolution being ensured.

A programme of economic and social development of all localities—towns and communes—on the basis of self-management and self-administration will be set according to the orientations and targets under the next five-year plan.

Furthermore, provisions are made for a rise in the export production, the increase of foreign economic exchanges and the growth of international economic cooperation, for Romania's intensified participation in the international division of labour and in world exchanges of assets.

The proposals for the socioeconomic development levels of the five-year plan period spanning 1991-1995 provide—as a firm orientation—for the growth of the national income and, with that as a basis, for the rise in the wealth and civilization standards of the people as a whole, the foremost goal of the RCP policy, the crux of the socialist system in Romania.

The Executive Political Committee then examined a report on the evolution of prices and tariffs in 1988. Emphasis was placed on the fact that prices and tariffs last year were maintained at the 1987 level, below planned provisions, which once again highlights the stability of prices in Romania, the viability and sound character of the national economy, and fully attests to the thoroughness of the economic policy promoted by the RCP and the Romanian state. It was also pointed out that under the current international circumstances, when almost all the countries of the world are adversely affected by inflation and by a continuous rise in prices, Romania is one of the few states of the world where production, delivery and retail prices were maintained at the same level and even declined.

The measures taken in 1988 for the improvement of the economic and financial system by bettering the system of price-formation provide for their enhanced role in the proper use of material funds and of money, the reduction of all spending and the efficiency of economic activities.

The price index in the farming market also followed a positive course, being lower than in 1987, and the amounts of farm produce sold by farm producers increased.

The Executive Political Committee requested that firm measures be taken for a strict observance of discipline in the field of prices, for the prevention of any tendencies towards augmenting them, for the ensurance of the stability of all categories of prices, for the unswerving application of legal provisions in this decisive area for the smooth run of the economic and financial mechanism, for Romania's manysided development.

The Executive Political Committee examined a report on the commissioning of the third mainline, as well as proposals for the further development of the Bucharest underground network.

The Bucharest tube, a project of major economic and social importance, worthy of the Romanian capital city, currently operates on two mainlines extending on 50 kms of double track crossing Bucharest. Furthermore, construction works on the third mainline—connecting the North Railway Station to Dristor 2 and extending on 10 kms—have entered an advanced stage and are to be completed in August this year. In this way, the total length of the underground network will stand at 60 kms of double track in 1989, with 38 stops. Planned tasks will thus be fulfilled a year ahead of schedule.

In consideration of these achievements, the Executive Political Committee approved proposals for the further development of the underground network and the beginning this year of construction works on new sections: Leontin Salajan-Policolor—4.1 kms—and Basarab-Gri-vita Rosie-I Mai-Pajura—4.5 kms.

They are to be commissioned not later than August 23, 1991.

Third Stage in People's Pay Raise Noted

AU0104185289 Bucharest AGERPRES in English
1746 GMT 1 Apr 89

["New Segments of Romania's Working People Have Their Pay Raised"—AGERPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest, AGERPRES, 01/04/1989—In continuation of the third pay raise stage that began with the mining industry on 1 March, this year, larger than 2,250 lei pays of the people working in industrial units of the Petroleum Ministry, the Electric Power Ministry, the Department of Geology, as well as in drilling and geological prospecting units will be raised as of today, to generalize the pay raise in these economic branches.

The underway nationwide pay raise drive that started last 1 August has so far benefitted 4.5 million working people, or about 60 percent of the total. As a result of the first two pay-raise stages, working people made 5.8 billion lei in extra incomes in 1988.

The pay raise that will come into effect on 1 April will differ with the level of remuneration, and the class of employment, hence it will be different for workers, foremen and technical-economic personnel. At this stage the monthly base pay in the economy will be raised to 3,300 lei on an average, from 1,028 lei in 1965.

The 1988-1989 rise in pay leaves state children benefits, scholarships and house rents unaffected.

Last month the Executive Political Committee of the Central Committee of the Romanian Communist Party decided to end the pay raise drive one month earlier than planned, so that by 1 August all working people will have their pay raised.

Presidential Decree on Officials' Appointment

AU3103184789 Bucharest AGERPRES in English
1824 GMT 31 Mar 89

["For the Record"—AGERPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest, AGERPRES, 31/03/1989—Under presidential decree Decebal Urdea was appointed governor of the National Bank of the Socialist Republic of Romania being released from his office as chairman of the State Committee for Prices, to which office Gheorghe Antonescu was appointed.

Kosovo Situation Reportedly Quiet at Moment

31 March Described

AU3103142189 Ljubljana Domestic Service
in Slovene 1330 GMT 31 Mar 89

[Marjan (?Dora) report from Kosovo]

[Text] Tomorrow and the day after tomorrow will be the eighth anniversary of the nationalist counterrevolution in Kosovo, and the opinion prevails everywhere that the nationalists will again try to provoke disorders.

The security organs are of course aware of this, and therefore have been very resolute in their work. It is possible to reach the majority of places in Kosovo only after passing a militia control. Security men in uniform or in plain clothes are all over the place.

The decree banning gatherings in groups of more than three persons still applies, the schools are closed, all public performances are banned, and the curfew is still in force.

A spokesman of the Provincial Secretariat for Internal Affairs stated at his press conference that the situation is under control, and that it is believed that it will be possible to lift the curfew soon, but he did not know when.

I visited Vucitrn today, where it was a market day. Many people gathered in the streets of the town, which has a population of 30,000, but there were no incidents until about 1 hour ago.

The plenum of the Provincial Committee of the League of Communists of Kosovo is going to cleanse the party leadership of those members who have been detained due to suspicion of the criminal act of counterrevolutionary activities. Primarily, I have Azem Vlasi in mind.

Party officials are resigning in some communes where riots occurred at the beginning of the week. The League of Communists plenum will be of little use if the most responsible Communists in the province again resort to the well-known phrases and fail to call the latest events, their causes, and their protagonists by their proper name.

140 Allegedly Killed

AU3103184089 Vienna ORF Teletext in German
1827 GMT 31 Mar 89

[Text] Belgrade/Ljubljana—In the latest bloody clashes between Albanian demonstrators and security forces in Kosovo, 140 people have been killed.

This was reported by the Slovene radio station in Ljubljana today. "Our correspondent in Kosovo has counted the coffins," a spokesman for the radio station said.

Official reports have mentioned 24 killed people so far. Yesterday the Belgrade paper VECERNJE NOVOSTI spoke of 29 victims.

AFP Gives Death Count

AU3103195089 Paris AFP in English
1743 GMT 31 Mar 89

[Text] Belgrade, March 31 (AFP)—A Yugoslav radio station Friday put the death toll from this week's riots in Kosovo at more than five times 24 dead admitted by the authorities.

Radio Ljubljana, in the northern Slovenia republic, said 140 people died in clashes between demonstrators and security forces last Monday and Tuesday.

"Our correspondent in Kosovo counted the coffins," a journalist for the station told AGENCE FRANCE-PRESSE by telephone.

At a press conference Friday, Kosovo officials denied a report by a Brussels-based Albanian organisation that 137 people were killed in the rioting, caused by a constitutional move that put the 90 per cent ethnic Albanian autonomous province under the control of neighbouring Serbia republic.

The official death toll has been put at 24, two of them policemen, with 222 people injured.

A Belgrade newspaper, VECERNJE NOVOSTI, published a toll of 29 dead while other reports quoting hospital sources in Kosovo said the final number could rise to more than 100.

Further details of the clashes, which were particularly violent in and around the provincial capital Pristina and in Zur near the Albanian border appeared in Friday's VECERNJE NOVOSTI.

"They were firing from all sides at the police. Grenades were thrown at us and many of us were injured," said a policeman shot and injured himself at Zur a small town three kilometers (two miles) from Albania.

"It was hell, you would have thought there was a war. They were firing on us from houses, behind walls and even from the mosques," according to an account in BORBA by the commander of a riot squad in action last Monday near Pristina.

Some 250 people arrested during the rioting appeared before police courts while "leaders and the most aggressive" elements will be tried formally, Kosovo's vice-minister for police said Friday. A high-ranking Kosovo official said Friday that the curfew imposed Tuesday evening could soon be lifted.

Reports said violence had subsided to be replaced by an uneasy calm. Schools and universities remained closed Friday, but soldiers and police in Pristina had withdrawn, the reports said.

Munir Dusi, a leading Kosovo party member, said the authorities "had the situation in hand" and that there was "no fear of further demonstrations" on Saturday and Sunday, the anniversaries of two days of rioting in 1981 when, officially, nine people died. The statement was in direct contradiction to a parliamentary speech by Kosovo's Interior Minister Jusuf Karakusi who said "Albanian nationalists and separatists" were preparing further violence.

Yugoslav authorities said the seizure of arms, explosives and documents during rioting proved that ethnic Albanians in Kosovo were planning an armed uprising to secede the troubled province from Yugoslavia.

Stane Dolanc, a member of the collegial federal Presidency and the country's security chief, said "several networks" involved in smuggling weapons to Kosovo "from abroad" had been dismantled.

Lazar Mojsov, another member of the Presidency, singled out Albania as being behind the unrest.

Tension Still Present

LD0104103189 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service
in Serbo-Croatian 0941 GMT 1 Apr 89

[Text] Pristina, 1 Apr (TANJUG)—Tension in Kosovo is not easing, despite the calm over the past 3 days following fierce street clashes between Albanian nationalists and separatists and members of the security forces.

It is peaceful in Kosovo this morning again, judging by outward appearances, and so far there have been no incidents or work stoppages, but the atmosphere is tense. Strong security forces are patrolling throughout the province, and tension is particularly being felt in Pec, Decani, Urosevac, and even Pristina.

On the public scene, things are relatively normal so far; the main political event is undoubtedly the session of the Kosovo League of Communists Provincial Committee, which is under way.

Security Officers on Situation

LD0104022989 Belgrade TANJUG in English
2258 GMT 31 Mar 89

["Yugoslavia—Deceptive Calm in Kosovo"—TANJUG headline]

[Text] Pristina, March 31 (TANJUG)—No attempts have been made by ethnic Albanian chauvinists and separatists to organize demonstrations in Kosovo over

the past two days but the organized hostile forces have announced new actions, southern Yugoslav province of Kosovo Interior Minister Jusuf Karakusi said today.

Fewer ethnic Albanian chauvinists and separatists took part in the demonstrations which broke out on March 23 than in the 1981 riots but this year's demonstrations were more aggressive and the consequences more serious. Previously convicted separatists also participated in the demonstrations, incited by hostile forces in Kosovo and abroad.

Karakusi said two policemen and 22 demonstrators were killed during the seven-day demonstrations, and 124 members of security service and 98 demonstrators were wounded.

Demonstrators have destroyed 30 vehicles, including four police cars, and 26 buses. They also attacked two trains and smashed shop windows and windows of public and residential buildings.

Karakusi said that the demonstrators aim was to increase the number of victims among the ethnic Albanian population and thus stir up their anger at the security service and Yugoslavia since they, according to reports, fired at the security service from yards and roofs while women and children were there in the streets.

Karakusi's deputy Radivoje Calovic told a press conference today that requests have been made to start infraction proceedings against 250 demonstrators and that criminal charges will be brought against some of them, largely against the organizers and the most violent participants.

Calovic said the security organs intervened in accordance with the law and duty regulations and denied claims that they used dum-dum bullets. Police first warned demonstrators to disperse, without using force, but after being attacked by stones and firearms, they used batons and chemicals commonly applied in such situations.

The security forces fired only several times and exclusively in self-defence, said Calovic.

Calovic also said there would be no problems for Muslims in Kosovo to celebrate the forthcoming holy month of Ramadan.

Asked to explain why ethnic Albanians cannot be granted a republic, the member of the Kosovo Presidency, Academician Munir Dusi said that one national-ity cannot have two states, regardless of its numbers.

Neighbouring Albania is the mother country of all ethnic Albanians and within Yugoslavia only nations are entitled to republics, which have state jurisdiction.

The Kosovo Presidency and the Provincial Council for the Protection of the Constitutional System said at their yesterday's session that the situation in Kosovo, which is still complex, demands utmost alert and preparedness to energetically protect public order, peace and the Yugoslav constitutional system.

TANJUG Reports Quiet

*LD0204115889 Belgrade TANJUG in English
1113 GMT 2 Apr 89*

[Text] Pristina, Apr 2 (TANJUG)—Following last week's fierce demonstrations and attacks by Albanian nationalists and separatists on security forces in Kosovo, this is a fifth straight day of a lull in Yugoslavia's southern province.

This morning it is quiet in Kosovo, without any excesses and everything is as usual.

Security organs continue patrolling the towns and roads throughout the province.

Also normally operating today are Kosovo's mines at Stari Trg, Goles, Kisinica and Novo Brdo where strikes and demonstrations took place late last February.

Fire Reported in Banja

*AU0204180489 Belgrade Domestic Service
in Serbo-Croatian 1700 GMT 2 Apr 89*

[Text] The situation in Kosovo is still tense. After last night's fire, which destroyed two stables and a certain amount of animal food, the Serbs and Montenegrins from the village of Banja in the local commune of Rudnik, in the Srbica commune, asked the members of the federal militia to come to the village and provide them with protection. If the militia does not come, they said that they would collectively emigrate from Kosovo.

The activists of the communal committee of the Srbica League of Communists have been continually in touch with the inhabitants of this and other villages in the local commune of Rudnik in order to alleviate their dissatisfaction.

The Committee for All People's Defense and Social Self-Protection of the Srbica commune assessed that the situation in the entire commune is very complicated and difficult, and that it could deteriorate further.

Otherwise, the situation in other places in Kosovo was relatively quiet today.

Trial in Pristina Begins

*LD0304092789 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service
in Serbo-Croatian 0852 GMT 3 Apr 89*

[Text] Pristina, 3 Apr (TANJUG)—It is quiet in Kosovo again this morning. The customary liveliness is returning to Pristina streets, although the reinforced security forces

still patrol the city. It is against this backdrop that in Pristina District Court this morning, the trial began for a group of Albanian nationalists and separatists who are charged with the criminal offense of association with a view to committing hostile acts.

At the same time, preliminary talks are being held in Kosovo, and plans are being made for intensified ideological activity and intimidated differentiation. This, in fact, is one of the most important conclusions drawn during the last plenary meeting of the Kosovo League of Communists Provincial Committee.

BORBA Calls for 'End to Bloodshed' in Kosovo

*AU3103203489 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian
29 Mar 89 p 1*

[Bozidar Andrejic commentary: "The Minimum of the Minimum"]

[Text] The present development of the situation in Kosovo and especially the deaths of the militiamen, apart from being an internal tragedy which comes with (every) violent death, have weighed down on the heavy and testing burden on all factors of political decision-making. Passions have been stirred up, but what has happened—and perhaps even what could now happen after the casualties on "the other side"—dramatically points out that politics must now more than ever be a skill of the possible. It must now more than before be freed of all emotion.

Therefore, the only logical and at the same time most difficult practical solution that imposes itself on healthy reason is—the bloodshed should stop. The price that should be paid for such a thing cannot be small at all, but it will definitely be smaller than if it continues to be paid with human lives.

The painful appearance of the loftiest (and unfortunately most restrictive) attributes of the (legal) state in Kosovo only highlights how tragically little of this state has been present even here, and how many beatings there have been at the hands of separatists. The spilled blood is a horrific stamp on all unimplemented conclusions and acts, dust-gathering, unresolved court disputes, and shelved "cases" in court files which conceal the fates of people who have been persecuted by the separatists, along with the provocative lack of resistance to greater Albanian separatism from the Kosovo state and the almost irritating indolence of the other Yugo-states.

The absence of a legal state was concealed for years by a surplus "ideological quasi-state" and the illusion that political peace and people's legal, property, and personal security could be provided through political appeals and differentiation. The fact that what prompted the introduction of the special measures continues to happen in Kosovo only shows that party socialism and the party-state do not (or cannot) function.

The fact that the political factor of the "denouement called calming down" has been overestimated can be seen from the simple fact that the Kosovo League of Communists with around 100,000 members is showing every sign of falling apart. What is even worse, awareness of this seems not to have matured, and it is (still) being counted on as if it is a full awareness that is having an effect.

If anything is necessary at this moment, apart from the preservation of the territorial integrity of this country, then it would have to be (to start with) the creation of the awareness in Kosovo that further bloodshed is a historic dead end and that there is no life together if one side does not even agree to people living alongside each other in peace, and that those who are now destroying bridges are pushing their own people downhill into isolation from civilization.

The Kosovo spinning wheel, which causes a mixture of extreme disquiet and deep anxiety, absurdly demonstrates all the bias and impotence of the measures that have been taken so far. Therefore, the minimum of the minimum is for both "state" and "party" Yugoslavia to most urgently—as they should have done a long time ago—essentially change both their strategy and operational tactics in Kosovo, toward Kosovo, and concerning Kosovo. Without this, not even today's most important and most urgent minimum will be possible: an end to the bloodshed.

Pristina Youth Paper Views Kosovo 'Rebellion'
LD0104133889 Belgrade TANJUG in English
1220 GMT 1 Apr 89

[Text] Pristina, Apr 1 (TANJUG)—During the latest events in Yugoslavia's Kosovo province, Albanian nationalists and separatists have shown unseen aggressiveness. In unrests, in which several scores of thousands of predominantly young Albanians participated, there were quite a few indications of an attempted rebellion in arms—writes today's JEDINSTVO paper published in Serbo-Croatian in Pristina. The paper adds that the actions of Albanian separatists and nationalists were synchronized which suggests that they had been preparing one centre or several interconnected centres.

In its commentary, JEDINSTVO stresses that it happened that in one day the nationalists, as if commanded, had begun demonstrations and attacks on security organs at about the same time.

The intention was to create an impression that "Entire Kosovo has risen."

According to somebody's idea, such a development of events was in accord with the plans on an armed rebellion of all Albanians after which Kosovo would have been annexed to Albania—JEDINSTVO observes.

All that has been taking place after the April 1981 demonstrations by Albanian separatists suggests the conclusion that the counter-revolution in Serbia's province of Kosovo was being quelled only in a wrong way. The main reason, JEDINSTVO holds, was the cadre scheming that had largely, until recently, been aimed at preserving the existing state of affairs which certainly suited the separatists.

Mistakes in the cadre policy, deliberate or not, had been creating good soil for the flourishing of Albanian nationalism and separatism.

The fact that more than twenty predominantly young lives were lost should strongly warn all those who dare try to break this country. The latest bitter experience with Kosovo should at least force to thinking all those hotheads who believe that time for dismembering Yugoslavia has come—writes JEDINSTVO.

Kosovo Presidium Details Demonstrators' Deaths
LD0104173189 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service
in Serbo-Croatian 1642 GMT 1 Apr 89

[Text] Pristina, 1 Apr (TANJUG)—Today the Kosovo LC [League of Communists] Provincial Committee [PC] Presidium informed members of the Kosovo LC PC about the March demonstrations. The information reaffirmed that 2 policemen and 20 [figure as received] demonstrators lost lives in brutal assaults of Albanian separatists. Five demonstrators died in Pristina, five died in Titova Mitrovica, four died in Prizren, three died in Decani, one died in Gnjilane, one died in Suva Reka, and one died in Podujevo. Two other people died of wounds.

Ninety-two demonstrators have been seriously injured and three have been less seriously injured. The largest number of wounded was in Urosevac, with Pristina, Prizren, Decani, and Titova Mitrovica ranking next in number of wounded. The largest number of demonstrators was wounded by gunfire, and a small number by other means.

Among the dead demonstrators, five were unemployed, four were young students, and three were university students. In addition, three workers, three farmers, one miner, and one pensioner died in the demonstrations by Albanian nationalists. Young people are most numerous among the killed demonstrators, which indicates a strong indoctrination of young people using the ideology of Albanian nationalism and separatism. Eleven young people, aged 16 to 24, paid their blindness with their lives.

There were several people—about 50 [figure as received]—killed in the demonstrations. It is noticeable that a great number of demonstrators come from villages, and only six from towns.

Regarding the policemen, besides the 2 who were killed, 9 were seriously wounded and 112 were less seriously wounded.

Kosovo LC Provincial Committee Convenes

Meeting Previewed

AU3103194389 Ljubljana Domestic Service
in Slovene 1700 GMT 31 Mar 89

[Text] Tomorrow the plenum of the Provincial Committee of the League of Communists of Kosovo [LCK] in Pristina will discuss the situation in the province since the November, February, and March disorders. They will also discuss the responsibility of the LC Provincial Committee members. Marjan (Dora) reports from Pristina:

Of course it is expected in Pristina that the members of the provincial committee will accept a decision to expel from their ranks Azem Vlasi and others who have been detained during investigations due to suspicion of counterrevolutionary activities and organized activities to undermine the foundations of this state.

Will responsibility be extended to other members of the provincial committee and its Presidium? This is a question which we posed to Baskim Hisari, member of the Presidium of the LCK Provincial Committee today. We learned that critical discussions will be held on the responsibility of all in the LCK leadership and that the materials for this session have long been under preparation [words indistinct]; therefore, the province justifiably expects much of it.

Regarding the situation at the moment in Kosovo, it must be said that it is calm, and that it is slowly normalizing, as one says. There are more and more people in the streets of Pristina, Vucitrn, Titova Mitrovica, Prizren, and other places that we managed to visit in the last 2 days. Shoe cleaners have returned to their pitches. In town yards, one can hear children playing ball. Pensioners hold lively discussions in front of tobacco shops.

One might say it is almost an idyllic picture if one were not at the same time aware of the fact that this calm is ensured at present by strict militia and Army control, that anybody who happens to be in too large a group of standing people is resolutely warned to disperse, and that the curfew begins at a time when bars and restaurants would begin to fill, and that everything is empty.

When will proper spring return to Kosovo? There is no answer to this question, particularly since the abolition of the state of emergency and of nationalist and separatist excesses alone will not abolish the poverty among the people, met at every step. This is precisely the reason the very bitter taste left in one's mouth even when the news is good.

Session Detailed

LD0204122489 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service
in Serbo-Croatian 1058 GMT 1 Apr 89

[Excerpts] Pristina 1 Apr (TANJUG)—After the introductory address at the session of the Kosovo LC [League of Communists] Provincial Committee, Isljam Bigici took the rostrum as the first of 17 expected speakers. He explained the serious situation in the Glogovac municipality created by the hostile activity of Albanian nationalists and separatists, although they failed to organize demonstrations in that area. Measures are being carried out against and proceedings being set for the 14 instigators and organizers of the hostile events in the municipality. Ideological differentiation is under way in the political bodies and leaderships of work organizations with special regard for the individuals who, by their inactivity, hesitation, and misunderstanding, created the grounds for activity by hostile elements.

Wide-ranging political activity in working organizations, educational, and cultural institutions continues while talks are being held with parents and students to ensure the commencement of classes as soon as possible, Bugici said.

Bakir Maksut spoke about the differences in the reportage on Kosovo by the media from other environments, about the detrimental things that encourage Albanian nationalists and separatists. As a concrete example, he mentioned the events in Cankar Hall, which would have made even the great Slovene poet Cankar himself ashamed.

Stressing that the issue of Serbian and Montenegrin emigration is very serious and difficult, Maksut warned about an increasing emigration of members of the Turkish nationality from Kosovo and Yugoslavia to Turkey. In one village alone, the village of Mamusa near Prizren, 75 Turkish families comprised of 750 individuals have announced that they will emigrate to Turkey. In Bakir Maksut's opinion, this is a result of the wrong attitudes that have previously been held toward the Turkish nationality of Kosovo. [passage omitted]

Savo Komadinic, president of the provincial trade union organization, said that a negligible number of workers took part in the recent March demonstrations. One should not be satisfied with the fact that the workers returned to work after numerous strikes last November and February. A struggle is yet to be fought for increasing production and quality, while every kind of absenteeism should be regarded as an act of subversion, Komadinic warned as he underscored a special responsibility of leading cadres. [passage omitted]

Jonuz Alija from Dragas illustrated the hypocrisy of the political bodies that changed their own attitudes in a matter of seconds. He said that on 22 February support was given in the Dragas municipality to the restored Kosovo LC Provincial Committee Presidium, but it was

only the next day when they demanded the resignations of Rahman Morina, Ali Sukrija, and Husamedin Azemi. This euphoria, as Jonus Alija noted, continued until 29 February, when they corrected their opinion and again gave their support to the leadership of the provincial committee. Alija found the cause of the latest demonstrations of Albanian nationalists and separatists in the fact that in 1981 the counterrevolutionary forces had not suffered a decisive blow, and there had been hesitation in making the correct assessments of the November gatherings and demonstrations. [passage omitted]

As a member of the working group of the LCY Central Committee Presidium—which was in Kosovo during the fiercest demonstrations in March—Vukotic noted that some people still hold responsible posts in work collectives even though these collectives gave support to the counterrevolutionary activity of Albanian nationalists. He illustrated this with the example of Urosevac, where the LC work has been paralyzed, as he put it, for a longer period of time. Finally, Vukotic stressed that the LCY Central Committee Presidium follows and assesses the situation in Kosovo, and that full unity on this is achieved at the head of the Yugoslav party.

Remzi Koljgeci, president of the Presidency of the Socialist Autonomous Province [SAP] of Kosovo, assessed that the measures and decisions of the SFRY Presidency are 'implemented relatively well.' At the same time, he pointed out that compulsory work orders in a number of Kosovo mines are not being observed. He noted, however, that the situation has improved in the past 2 days. Koljgeci contributed his proposals for enhancement of the proposed assessments of the Presidium of the Kosovo LC Provincial Committee. According to him, the document should stress resolutely that Albanian masses cannot pay the price for everything that has happened; otherwise, it will create the impression that they all support nationalistic demands.

Koljgeci asserted that the adoption of the constitutional amendments and constitutional discussions were at the heart of the excited political passions, and that masses became politicized. For this reason, he proposed that stances from today's session point to causes of the situation. According to Koljgeci, some causes are objective. But, events in Vojvodina, Montenegro, and some extreme statements about constitutional changes also have effects on the politization of people. He advocated a thorough analysis of causes of the latest events.

Koljgeci expressed some reserve about the proposed assessments. [passage omitted]

Kacusa Jasari assessed that we are 'on the brink of the collapse of intranational relations,' and that it is high time for reason to be the guiding force, so that the emotions and tensions which have been present for a long time—which Albanian nationalism wants to use—are overcome. Jasari warned that for a long time the leaderships did not work well in explaining the fact that

actions by Albanian nationalists are against the real interests of the Albanian people. She said that homogenization within any nation, including the Albanian nationality, is favorable for nationalistic activity. The homogenization comes into existence when nationalistic ideologies are not exposed, which leads to ideological confusion and mistakes, Jasari believes.

Kacusa Jasari emphasized that ideological confusion was created above all because the LC did not resolutely oppose trends toward both Albanian and Serbian nationalism, and added that now it is most important to build unity through mutual help and solidarity in local communities and organizations of associated labor, and through the resolution of personal and common problems and needs of the people. The majority nation or nationality should bear responsibility in all spheres of life for the national equality of all nations and nationalities living together in the same environment, Jasari advocated. Such consistent struggle of Communists would remove the feeling of endangerment among members of the Serbian and Montenegrin nationalities in Kosovo.

The consistent struggle of the Serbian LC and the LCY against tendencies to identify Albanian nationalists and irredentists with the Albanian nationality and against vengeance ('upon the Albanian people) will contribute to this. Kacusa Jasari appealed to mothers to influence their children and to bring them up in the spirit of brotherhood and unity because, as she stressed, their influence is as strong as the influence of teachers. [passage omitted]

[Excerpts] Kosovo's prospects are not in a greater Albania, nor will they ever be, but with Serbia and Yugoslavia, Popovic stated clearly. Mutual relations between the people in Kosovo are not a gesture of loyalty to any particular leadership, but the inevitability of common life. Any leadership which is not capable of struggling for this should not even set out to do anything. All those who are building a policy of privileges do not stand a chance, as this does not apply to Kosovo. Supporting the state's measures for Kosovo, according to Popovic, is to have patriotic attitude toward Yugoslavia. We will not allow the disintegration of the country regardless of the price for preventing this. It has been shown that the changes to the Constitution of the Socialist Republic of Serbia were not a "Serbian swindle," but only the creation of such conditions whereby the Albanian nationality can affirm itself as an equal factor in the development of the country to a greater extent than it formerly could.

Stressing that the Communists of Kosovo will never let the nationalists keep the Albanian nationality "in the dark" and drive it to civilization's margins, Popovic said that human lives must not be turned into weapons for the hostile forces. It is unacceptable to impose collective guilt onto the Albanian nationality; nevertheless, it should be promoter in exterminating the nationalist-separatist evil within its ranks. [passage omitted]

Agim Malja said that apart from searching for enemies—whom we should fight even more fiercely—we should also look for friends through the elimination of all stereotypes.

The essence of the Albanian nationality has been shaken since irrationality and fanaticism have prevailed, Malja said as he assessed that Kosovo's history has always revolved around "guilt and forgiveness." Who has blamed whom most, and who has forgiven whom most—this should be assessed by history. Now is the time for forgiving. I am aware that this might sound Christian-like, but the present evil is enormous, and we must oppose it.

Malja, in his capacity as director of Pristina Television, replied to the remarks addressed to this television station concerning the way it was reporting, particularly in the case of the Stari Trg miners' strike. He said that during the first 3 or 4 days of the strike there were no significant flaws. Later on, though, a euphoric feeling also gripped the individuals in the Albanian-language program, which eventually led to mistakes and certain consequences. Therefore, appropriate measures have been taken with 12 editors and journalists, ranging from some being relieved of their functions, to some being removed from program production. The main and responsible editor resigned. The responsibility of all of them will be discussed in the basic LC organization of Pristina Television.

The reporting on the present events in Kosovo is in line with the LC's policy in the province; I hope it will be in the future as well.

Mehdi Gajkova and Bajram Gasi devoted a great part of their discussion to the need for stepped up ideopolitical action by the organs and members of the LC in the province, as well as to ideological differentiation, which must not be partial, formal, or short-lived. Imer Kocinaj from Pristina University said that he had the impression that the notorious February appeal by a group of intellectuals—which he, led by humanitarian reasons, also signed—made the situation even more complex. Imer Kocinaj expressed his readiness to accept and implement any assessments which the provincial committee makes on this case.

Ljubomir Radovic, the acting president of the management board of the Trepca composite organization of associated labor, said that production in the Stari Trg mines and in the others parts of the organization was normalizing. A session of the workers' council was scheduled to take place on 25 April, when important decisions and cadre changes are expected and a number of posts in the management board will be announced as vacated. [passage omitted]

In our activities, we shall always depart from the things which bind and link us, Zoran Sokolovic said. We assume that the same will be done by the others in the

country, since there are many things which hold us together. In the first place, there is the concern and common responsibility for the fate and development of socialism, federal Yugoslavia, and brotherhood and unity among all our nations and nationalities. The Socialist Republic of Serbia and the Serbian LC will continue to advocate and place everything in the service of these principal achievements of our revolutions.

You know that because of these commitments, we are sometimes reproached for being centralist, unitarian etc. We shall continue resolutely to reject such attacks, as we shall also favor a united, federal, self-managing, and nonaligned Yugoslavia in the future. We will be doing everything to consolidate unity of and trust in Yugoslavia, but socialist Serbia can do this only if it is equal with the others in Yugoslavia. Therefore, Serbia, with both its socialist autonomous provinces, will never let others divide or cut it up, Zoran Sokolovic concluded. [passage omitted]

Expressing his satisfaction at the unified attitude of the participants in today's debate, Svetislav Zivkovic proposed that an official protest be issued as a response to the media from some environments which equate Albanians with Jews, and the members of the other nations and nationalities with fascists. If they do not want to help us, at least they can refrain from crippling our efforts, Zivkovic said.

Becir Hoti spoke about the tasks of the Communists in the press as he noted that there were flaws and even ideological mistakes in RILINDJA reportage on the recent events. The new leadership has also created the conditions for the beginning of differentiation in the media, Hoti said, and also noted that the editorial board and the party organization of this newspaper had acknowledged the mistakes in the reportage of the February events.

The provincial committee then unanimously adopted the final report on the November demonstrations and the February strikes, which was discussed at the session on 28 February, and the assessment of and stands on the political and security situation—something that was the principal issue of today's plenum. The provincial committee also adopted the introductory report, submitted this morning by Iljaz Ramjlji, as the committee's document.

In the ensuing discussion, the plenum considered the working group's report on establishing the responsibility of the provincial committee and its members.

(Extensive extracts from this report have previously been transmitted under the headline: "Session of the Kosovo LC Provincial Committee—Report by Working Group on Responsibility")

In his short address, Dusan Celic criticized the fact that the working group's work took 4 months to be completed even though some members of the provincial committee had been insisting earlier that an objective personal and collective responsibility should be established quicker, but the provincial committee turned a deaf ear to these demands. This opportunism has led us to this miserable situation, he said.

Replying to Celic, Morina stressed that it is not only the working group which is to blame for this postponement, since objective circumstances and subjective weaknesses have demanded their toll. The Presidency regarded the working group's report as being good, as a beginning of a more responsible attitude by the leaderships and its individuals toward tasks and duties.

Milan Gvozdic—who tendered his resignation from membership in the Kosovo LC Provincial Committee on an earlier occasion, wishing to help resolve the situation—expressed his fear that some of the formulations in the working group's report were not differentiated enough. He maintains that the sting of the report's criticism is pointed evenly at all members of the Presidium who had resigned, so, in his opinion, one might think that he and Ekrem Arifi, who is on "the other side," bore the same responsibility.

Svetislav Zivkovic said that Dzumret Seljmani, whose resignation from Presidium membership would be discussed this evening, had contributed positively to the activity of the Communists of Pec, the municipality of which he is in charge. Zivkovic had no significant remarks to make against the working group's report.

This discussion was followed by voting in accordance with the provincial LC's statute. The proposals for the expulsion of Azem Vlasi, Ekrem Arifi and Ejup Gasi from LC membership—which in effect means the termination of their membership in the provincial committee—were unanimously accepted. The provincial committee proposed for its former member, Rusit Ramadani, that his basic organization establish the degree of Ramdani's ideopolitical responsibility.

The provincial committee also accepted a proposal for suggesting an initiative to the Serbian LC Central Committee that Sadik Sadiku be relieved of his membership in the LCY Central Committee.

The plenum also accepted the irrevocable resignations of the Presidium's members, Kacusa Jasari, Vojislav Zajic, and Dzumret Selmani.

Cadre renewal marks the commencement of a very responsible task, Kacusa Jasari's resignation notes. She stresses that she feels on her part, the need to contribute to this aim and help in a further renewal of the provincial committee's Presidium. Having said this, I do not wish my move to be regarded as withdrawal from the struggle to stabilize the very difficult situation in the province,

nor as running away from responsibility for my former work. I shall keep on fighting resolutely against the counterrevolutionary activity of Albanian nationalism and separatism and all other kinds of anticommunist activity, as I will fight for the development of the self-managing socialist society, Kacusa Jasari's resignation states.

The same points and explanations were made in the resignations of Vojislav Zajic and Dzumret Selmani.

Rahmin Morina, president of the Presidium, thanked the former members of this body after the adoption of their resignations. He judged that the resignations were an expression of the responsible and communist attitudes toward the situation in the province by Kacusa Jasari, Vojislav Zajic, and Dzumret Selmani. Their previous work and help have been useful and will certainly continue to contribute to the provincial committee's work, Morina said.

After all, a Communist never turns his back on his Communist comrade. We stay at the same front and at the same line. I am convinced, Morina concluded, that all three of them are in our line and that they will remain, as well.

At the end of the 10-hour session, the provincial committee adopted a report on the cadre renewal which has commenced in the LC municipal organizations. This activity has been slowed down because of the events in the province, but it will have to be completed by mid-April. Cadre renewal is being conducted in a democratic spirit, while special working groups have been set up in order to establish a possible responsibility for not executing one's tasks, the report adopted by the provincial committee states.

Morina Gives Address

LD0104214889 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service
in Serbo-Croatian 1759 GMT 1 Apr 89

[Text] Pristina, 1 Apr (TANJUG)—The political and security situation in Kosovo is complex, but today we are witnessing a readiness not to permit the counterrevolutionary activity of Albanian nationalism as well as to create a united front in the struggle for the normalization of the situation in Kosovo, Rahman Morina said, concluding today's discussion on the first item of the agenda. There can be no compromise with regard to the realization of party tasks on Kosovo, while our united point of view on the most important problems is encouraging, Morina stressed.

In recent events, the destruction of the constitutional system and the endangerment of citizens' lives were the main aims. It was not an intranational conflict, but rather an attack on the legal institutions of the Yugoslav state. The Albanian nationalists and separatists drew their arms, thinking that in this way they would win over the Albanian nation to their dark aims. However, the

working people and citizens did not join them. The majority of the Albanian nationality in Kosovo does not support the destructive, hostile activity of Albanian nationalists.

With all our efforts to resolve the situation in Kosovo, we also value the indispensable direct assistance and support of the whole country in the struggle to overcome negative tendencies in Kosovo, Morina said. He went on to say that in the leadership of some republics, unfortunately, there were phenomena which were not in line with the ninth session of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia (LCY) Central Committee, particularly with its basic value whereby Yugoslavia sees Kosovo as a common problem in connection with which joint and united action should be waged.

Does the country really need new arguments about the strategic directions for political action by the LCY in Kosovo at a time when it is of decisive importance for the future of socialist Kosovo for organized forces in the province to undertake the initiative in a definite way, in their own hands, and uproot nationalism and the other retrograde phenomena in Kosovo? I think that it is the final moment, Morina said, for the top LCY organs to concern themselves with and make a more thorough analysis of this phenomenon and the reasons for the lack of unity in their approaches to Kosovo by all parts of the LCY.

We cannot allow the existence of differing interpretations and approaches, above all with regard to the clear policy which was established in a united way for the strategy to overcome the complex and difficult situation in Kosovo, which the LCY Central Committee has been constructing since the ninth session. We cannot, at a moment when we in Kosovo primarily need united, practical action and concrete assistance from Yugoslavia, permit the existence of several truths about Kosovo and interpretations of current events in Kosovo from positions of separate and narrower interests. Because, in the end, the existence of differences of opinion about Kosovo can no longer be placed in the framework of holding a tolerant dialogue on some issues, but must be seen as opposite viewpoints about the same thing and the same problems.

Morina went on to ask who was guilty, and why there had been a delay in making clear the real essence and character of the changes to the Serbian Constitution. We must give answers to this right away if we wish to quickly remove the malicious and ultimately hostile interpretations to the effect that with the constitutional changes, we are introducing inequality among the nations and nationalities in our republic, which is something the LCY, the Serbian LC and the Kosovo LC are against with all their being, he stressed.

The Albanian nationality has linked its destiny and its future to socialist and self-managing Yugoslavia, to the equal community of fraternal nations and nationalities.

Albanians in Yugoslavia have confirmed this with their participation in and their contribution to the socialist development of our country, with their exceptional national and social affirmation in Tito's Yugoslavia, with their numerous, manifold and unbreakable ties with the nations and nationalities of Yugoslavia.

Faced with this fact, all the calculations of Albanian nationalism and separatism, aimed at bringing discord, distrust and hatred among us, fall into the water, as do those of all the other enemies of our country who seek to show the Albanians as the bone of contention in Yugoslavia. Albanians in Yugoslavia can never and will never be threatened or hindered in the realization of their rights and national equality.

In the struggle against nationalism, Morina said, a greater inclusion is needed of the creative intelligentsia from the ranks of the Albanian nationality, who should make their voice heard far more loudly and in greater numbers from positions of brotherhood and unity, against nationalism and everything that is antisocialist and reactionary among their people. A number of intellectuals still remain stubbornly silent about Albanian nationalism, yet happily make their views known when it is a question of attacking other nationalisms.

Morina went on to reject the theories that the Kosovo LC is in conflict with the Albanian intelligentsia as hostile. However, he stressed, if the intelligentsia really wishes well to the people to whom it belongs, and to our community as a whole, if it wishes for a stable situation and a peaceful creative life, it must loudly stand up against nationalism, above all against nationalism within its own nation. It is the final moment for some of the intellectuals at the university and all the other scientific and educational institutions to understand that the LC is not calling on them to become a tool of daily political propaganda, but rather that any remaining on the sidelines in the struggle against Albanian nationalism means a tacit reconciliation with the endangerment of the foundations upon which the policy and practice of full national equality are based.

Speaking about the meaning of the mobilization of the broad front of workers, young people, and citizens for changing the situation in the province, Morina pointed out that the Kosovo LC, from its leaderships to its basic organizations, must first free itself of those who do not involve themselves in realizing LCY policy, or who are acting from opposite positions. By means of argued differentiation, in the case of a number of LC members, the very frequent difference between verbal support for the policy and stances of the LC and practical passivity and lack of personal involvement on every basis must be eliminated. Anyone who wishes to be an LCY member, and particularly among its leadership, cannot have two faces, one in the morning, at the forum, and another in private life, in the environment where he lives. One of the vital preconditions for the more complete and more consistent implementation of LC policy is for members

of the LC at all levels to begin to take responsibility for the implementation of LC policy, and to be called to account before the LC and society for their mistakes, shortcomings, negative influence, and the negative consequences they bring about.

We must immediately begin and must most resolutely implement differentiation, Morina stressed. We must ensure that both in politics and in the economy, capable cadres, determined to accept the new method of work, responsibly and consistently carry out the duties and tasks to which they have been entrusted. It is necessary to create the vital conditions for overcoming economic problems and the damage they have caused, particularly the February strikes, and to turn toward more rapid economic development and the raising of living standards of working people and citizens in the province.

The Kosovo LC cannot, as it has until now, make political speeches to that class; rather, it must resolve its problems in life and create conditions for a better, more peaceful and richer life. We must overcome the destructive activity of Albanian nationalists and turn toward the vital issues facing all of us. We must ensure an unhindered process of production in all economic organization in the province so that people turn to their work, to their working duties. Those who will not work should be replaced with young, educated, and capable cadres who want to work, whom we do have in the province.

In this very difficult situation in the province, Morina said, there is some encouragement from the fact that Albanian nationalists and separatists did not find a base among the broad Albanian masses. This became clear in the March demonstrations, when the Albanian nationalists did not succeed in winning over workers, peasants, and students of the Albanian nationality in greater numbers to their destructive activity. This shows that the majority of the Albanian nationality is not against Serbia and Yugoslavia, but is for a peaceful and common life and work, for brotherhood and unity, and for equality of all nations and nationalities in the province, in Serbia, and in Yugoslavia.

This clear line of differentiation with regard to Albanian nationalists is being shown and will be shown by progressive Albanians with concrete action and a resolute struggle against nationalists in their own ranks, and for the policy of national equality pursued by the LCY.

The Kosovo LC leadership calls on all members of the Albanian nationality who, under the pressure of nationalists, have long been isolated and remained silent, and who are for unity and togetherness in Kosovo, in Serbia, and in Yugoslavia, to resolutely stand up against the nationalist evil within their own nationality. It also calls on all Serbian and Montenegrin LC members who have returned their party membership cards to return to the LC and, together with Albanian Communists, struggle for a better today and tomorrow for us all.

The Kosovo LC leadership and this provincial committee, firmly resolved to persevere with LCY policy, will extend to all of them unconditional, resolute and concrete support. Only by creating a united front of all nations and nationalities in the province, based on the LCY program and policy, will we overcome nationalisms, remove pressures, prevent the emigration of Serbs and Montenegrins, and ensure the conditions for everyone who wishes to live in Kosovo to be able to do so peacefully and securely.

The LC has always won—as it will now—and with that victory, unrest and uncertainty will disappear, the reasons for emigrating will disappear, our children will have a better life. In Kosovo there is enough that is black. It is true that the counterrevolution is continuing to hinder the full restoration of balance between life and work, but there are also many environments, cases, and examples where it has not penetrated, and where people are not divided along national lines, but along progressive, humane, moral, and human lines.

With resolute action in the implementation of LCY stances, we can resolve all problems, Morina stated. Action must be far more organized, broad, and better thought out, so that it includes all environments and all spheres of social life equally. It must be waged on a broad social basis, where life is being lived; the basic aim should be that all of us in Kosovo—Albanians, Serbs, Montenegrins, Turks, and others—feel the concrete results of that action. And as soon as possible.

Three Presidium Members Resign

LD0104174789 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service
in Serbo-Croatian 1700 GMT 1 Apr 89

[Text] Pristina, 1 Apr (TANJUG)—Kacusa Jasari, Vojislav Zajic and Djumret Seljmani at a session today tendered their irrevocable resignations from membership of the Presidium of the Kosovo League of Communists Provincial Committee [LC PC]. Today, at the session of the top party forum in Kosovo, the PC working group proposed that the resignations be accepted, and assessed that there are no reasons to pass ideopolitical measures against Kacusa Jasari, Vojislav Zajic, or Djumret Seljmani, but that they should continue their work as members of the Kosovo LC PC.

The working group, whose report about the responsibilities of PC members and the PC Presidium was read by its leader Seljamim Kusari, proposed a PC initiative that the League of Communists of Yugoslavia Central Committee [LCY CC] release Ali Sabani from his membership. The working group proposed that the PC take the initiative to release Sadik Sadiku from membership to the Serbian League of Communists Central Committee.

It was proposed that Ejup Gasi be released from his PC membership and be dismissed from the LCY because of his destructive public speeches. The LC basic organization with which Rusit Ramadani, former member of the PC, was connected, establishes his political responsibility.

Working Group Presents Report

*LD0204002789 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service
in Serbo-Croatian 1712 GMT 1 Apr 89*

[Text] Pristina, 1 Apr (TANJUG)—A report was submitted today to the members of the Provincial Committee of the Kosovo League of Communists [LC] by a working group formed at the 19th session, held on 17 November 1988, to establish the responsibility of the members of the Presidium and the Provincial Committee of the Kosovo LC. As is known, the task of the working group was to assess and establish the individual responsibility of the members of the provincial committee and its Presidium on the basis of the duties set directly by the 17th session of the LCY Central Committee and the warning then issued to the provincial committee and its Presidium.

Submitting the report, the leader of the working group, Seljain Kusari, noted that there had been actions which were not in accord with the stances of the 17th session and that at the 19th session of the provincial committee, many discussions had contributed to disunity and division on national lines, which were more manifest than ever before precisely in connection with the assessment and establishment of individual responsibility. This disunity was also expressed in connection with the assessments of the situation in the Pristina LC Municipal Committee and the responsibility for that situation, in connection with the assessment of the gatherings of Serbs and Montenegrins; it was particularly manifest in connection with the public discussion on the draft amendments to the Serbian Constitution.

The working group considered many facts, documents, shorthand notes from the 18th and 19th sessions of the Kosovo LC Provincial Committee and its Presidium, a tape recording of talks with members of the Presidium and the Provincial Committee of the Kosovo LC, the discussion and conclusions from the joint session of the Serbian LC Central Committee Presidium and the Kosovo LC Provincial Committee Presidium, and the texts of the accepted resignations of members of the Presidium. On the basis of the relevant information available in documentation, the working group stated that despite the measures and actions undertaken in particular after the 16th session of the LCY Central Committee, an essential change of direction in the normalization of the situation in the province had not been ensured. Adequate changes were not ensured in the method of work and activity aimed at the broader mobilization of the masses for concrete action. Time was wasted and strength exhausted in closed meetings and forums, instead of concrete actions for accomplishing tasks in Kosovo.

The activity of LC organs and organizations was not equal to the demands of the times and the tasks set. On the whole, it lagged behind the situation and developed from case to case, concerning itself with consequences and not causes. The numerous actions undertaken by the provincial committee and its presidium remained partial. Following the continuation of a pronounced forum-type method of work, activity did not extend to the direct activity of basic LC organizations to the necessary extent.

During this period, all this contributed to a failure to implement political action as broad and as intense as the complexity of the situation and the tasks set required.

On the basis of the adopted criteria for cadre renewal and on the basis of ideopolitical differentiation and responsibility, 22 members were relieved of their duties as members of the Kosovo LC Provincial Committee, and in the meantime, the provincial LC Committee has been renewed. A new president of the Presidium has been elected, as well as a Presidium secretary and new members of the Kosovo LC Provincial Committee Presidium.

The feeling of self-criticism and responsibility of certain members [passage indistinct]

Ekrem Arifi, by submitting his resignation, wished to cover up his real political activity, which was opposed to LCY policy. His public actions and attitude toward phenomena in the spheres of education, science, and culture—not just in Kosovo—caused dissatisfaction and contributed to doubts and fear among the Albanian nationality for their own position in the Socialist Republic of Serbia and in Yugoslavia. This was particularly manifest in the course of public discussions about the amendments to the Serbian Constitution. His careerist ambitions and destructive activity opposed to the policy of the LCY contributed to intranational divisions in Kosovo.

The working group proposed to the Provincial Committee of the Kosovo LC that Ekrem Arifi be relieved of his membership in the Kosovo LC Provincial Committee and at the same time that the ideopolitical measure of expulsion from the LCY be taken against him.

Because of destructive public statements which contributed to the division of the provincial committee along nationality lines, for opposing the stances of the 17th LCY Central Committee session, and for blatant personal attacks, the working group proposed to the Kosovo LC Provincial Committee that Ejup Gasi be relieved of his duties as member of the Kosovo LC Provincial Committee and that the ideopolitical measure of expulsion from the LCY be taken against him as well.

In the case of Rusit Ramadani, as a former member of the provincial committee whose resignation from that committee had been accepted by the provincial committee, and who publicly opposed item five of the conclusions of the 17th LCY central committee session [passage indistinct]. Sadik Sadiku, as a member of the Serbian LC Central Committee from the Kosovo LC, at sessions of the Kosovo LC Provincial Committee, opposed the stances of the 17th LCY Central Committee session and shirked his own responsibility as member of the Serbian LC Central Committee onto other members and organs of the LC. Because of this and because of blatant personal attacks, and based on the initiative of the Kamenica Municipal LC Committee, the working group proposes to the Provincial Committee of the Kosovo LC that it accept the proposal of the Serbian LC Central Committee to relieve Sadik Sadiku of his duties as a member of the Serbian LC Central Committee.

Ali Sabani, as a member of the LCY Central Committee, instead of involving himself in implementing the conclusions of the 17th session of the LCY Central Committee, at a session of the Kosovo LC Provincial Committee failed to contribute to the mobilization of the broad Kosovo LC membership because he interpreted the stances and assessments of the LCY Central Committee in an opportunistic way and resolutely insisted on their revision. Because of this, the working group proposes to the Provincial Committee of the Kosovo LC that it take the initiative to relieve Ali Sabani of his duties as a member of the LCY Central Committee.

With regard to Kacusa Jasari, Vojislav Zajic, and Dzumret Seljmani, members of the Kosovo LC Provincial Committee Presidium, who have submitted their unconditional resignations from those positions, the working group believes that these resignations are expressions of their responsible attitude toward the situation in the province and the obligations of the Kosovo LC. The working group proposes that the Kosovo LC Provincial Committee accept their resignations on the basis of the explanations they gave. The working group also believes that no reason exists for taking ideopolitical measures against them, and that they should involve themselves in further political work as members of the Kosovo LC Provincial Committee.

The working group said the situation which has arisen in the province since the hostile demonstrations in March imposes upon the LC the need for a deeper and specific ideopolitical differentiation and to establish the responsibility of LC members at all levels in the Kosovo LC. With regard to ideopolitical differentiation, these proposed measures represent a resolute step for the implementation of the stances, tasks, and policy of the LCY. They must serve as an example and encouragement for further energetic and consistent ideopolitical differentiation in the Kosovo LC and in other structures in the province, on the basis of the adopted criteria, the assessments of the provincial committee on the events of

November, February, and March in the province, and of the Kosovo LC's action program, said the working group.

Vlasi, Arifi, Gasi Expelled

LD0104182589 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1831 GMT 1 Apr 89

[Text] Pristina, 1 Apr (TANJUG)—The Kosovo League of Communists [LC] Provincial Committee has expelled Azem Vlasi, Ekrem Arifi and Ejup Gasi from the League of Communists of Yugoslavia [LCY]. Vlasi, Arifi and Gasi were previously expelled from provincial committee membership.

The Kosovo LC Provincial Committee proposed to the party organization, of which Rusit Ramadani is a member, that his ideopolitical responsibility be established. An initiative was set in motion at the session of the top provincial party forum that Sadik Sadiku be relieved of his membership in the Serbian LC Central Committee and that the LCY Central Committee would be called on to relieve Ali Sabani of his membership in the LCY Central Committee. All of them bear personal responsibility for the situation in Kosovo.

The provincial committee adopted the irrevocable resignations of Kacusa Jasari, Dzumret Seljmani and Vijislav Zakic from membership in the Presidium of the provincial committee, stating that in their case there were no reasons for implementing ideopolitical measures against them, and that they should continue to be provincial committee members.

Deadlines Set

LD0204172189 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1307 GMT 2 Apr 89

[Text] Pristina, 2 Apr (TANJUG)—All those who by their activity, actions, or idleness, inspired, stimulated, organized, and participated in the demonstrations and the events of last November and this February must leave the Kosovo League of Communists [LC]. The Kosovo LC Provincial Committee yesterday adopted clear stands and guidelines for establishing the responsibility of organs and individuals. It also decided on the most imminent tasks and the deadlines for the activity of the organs and organizations of the LC in the province.

On the basis of the established criteria, by 20 April, the concrete individual responsibility in all the provincial organs of authority, other institutions of the system, and organs of the provincial sociopolitical organizations should be established for the situation which has emerged. Concretely, this refers primarily to the protagonists in the most responsible posts and members of the LC Provincial Committee Presidium, the Socialist Alliance of Working People [SAWP] Presidium, the Trade Union Council, the veterans' and youth organizations, the provincial assembly Executive Council, the administrative organs, and all other organs and organizations.

The Presidiums of the 26 Municipal Committees in the province are charged with assessing the political and security situation in their particular areas and establishing their own collective and individual responsibility for the events during the last months by 15 April. This is an especially important task in the 11 municipalities where the demonstrations have taken place, so it is necessary to assume the concrete measures for the newly emerged situation and to carry out an appropriate cadre renewal. The establishment of the degree of ideopolitical and similar responsibility of educational, scientific, and cultural workers—particularly the LC members and officials—is being envisaged for April. The education and upbringing of the youth can be practiced only by those educational workers and pedagogues who have assumed clear attitudes toward nationalism and separatism and are in the line with League of Communists of Yugoslavia, it was concluded at yesterday's Kosovo LC Provincial Committee Session.

Kosovo Assembly Discusses Events in Province

AU3103143889 Belgrade Domestic Service
in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 31 Mar 89

[Text] At a session of the provincial assembly, Jusuf Karakusi, Kosovo internal affairs secretary, assessed that Albanian separatists had shown their aggressiveness by shooting at the militia from roofs and balconies, setting official vehicles on fire, and throwing bottles containing explosive materials. The latest demonstrations, said Karakusi, are a continuation of the 1981 counterrevolution, as well as of the so-called movement for the national liberation of Albanians of 1958 and 1964.

The aim of the organizers was to cause as many casualties as possible in order to provoke greater hatred toward our system. The demonstrators shot at the militia when women and children were in the streets in order to provoke members of the security service into shooting at innocent people. However, they did not succeed in this, said Jusuf Karakusi.

The demonstrations were the work of well-organized illegal forces in collusion with extreme immigrants from abroad. Their aim was to mobilize all strata in the population. Karakusi pointed out the serious consequences. On one hand, those who were defending Yugoslavia died, and on the other, a number of young people, including members of illegal groups, also lost their lives.

Five militia vehicles were destroyed and 25 were damaged. Twenty-six buses were damaged and two trains were also attacked. Shop and other windows were also broken in many places in Kosovo. There were also cases of demonstrators surrounding members of the security service. Fatal consequences were avoided thanks to the alert command and the coolness of the members of the security forces. Bullets from firearms were found in the militiamen's bullet-proof vests.

The enemies do not rest, stressed Karakusi. They have again announced action. Now is the time for Kosovo people to show that they support brotherhood and unity and are against bloodshed. Karakusi particularly stressed that there had been no clashes on a national basis among members of the security service.

The Kosovo Assembly delegates adopted the budget for this year. It is envisaged that it will be 150 percent greater than earned income. It was stressed in the debate that the federal budget contributes a large amount to solving the financial difficulties of the province.

Eight LC Members Expelled in Urosevac

LD0204145489 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service
in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 2 Apr 89

[Text] Urosevac, 2 Apr [TANJUG]—In the framework of intensive action in Urosevac Municipality, where the recent events in the province began, eight members have already been expelled from the League of Communists [LC] for their outspoken hostile conduct.

They say in the LC Municipal Committee that this is probably not the final number. Sessions of the basic LC organizations are being held daily. The establishment of responsibility is under way in a number of basic organizations. The municipal committee has set up special working groups to examine the five work organizations in which workers and even some managers assembled in great numbers on the streets of Urosevac at the time of demonstrations. These working groups are working in the wiring plant, the Tefik Canga wood combine, Mineks, the tool and press plant and in the Trajko Grkovic construction plant.

Albanian Strikers in Urosevac Disciplined

LD0104132189 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service
in Serbo-Croatian 1208 GMT 1 Apr 89

[Text] Urosevac, 1 Apr [TANJUG]—Specific measures are being taken in work organizations of the Urosevac Municipality against workers of the Albanian nationality who refused to work in March, expressing solidarity with the participants in the hostile demonstrations in this part of Kosovo Province. Four workers were suspended at the pipe fitting factory and 12 in the Tefik Canga wood combine. Disciplinary proceedings were instituted against 61 strikers in the Trajko Grkovic construction combine, and 109 workers will be summoned by the disciplinary commission in the tools and electric irons factories.

SAWPY Calls for End to Albanian Separatism

LD0104024289 Belgrade TANJUG in English
2315 GMT 31 Mar 89

[Text] Belgrade, March 31 [TANJUG]—The Presidency of Yugoslavia's Socialist Alliance, the largest nationwide mass socio-political organisation, evaluated here today that an end must be put at last to the ethnic

Albanian nationalistic and separatist movement in the province of Kosovo, southern Yugoslavia. At the same time, it came out in support of emergency measures recently introduced by the Presidency of Yugoslavia in that autonomous province overwhelmingly populated by ethnic Albanians.

The said emergency measures should be in force as long as reasons exist for their introduction, it was said at a session of the Socialist Alliance's innermost leadership.

Dr. Bozidar Colakovic, president of Yugoslavia's Socialist Alliance, emphasised in his introductory remarks that the emergency measures should surely have been introduced much earlier, adding that Yugoslavia is being confronted in Kosovo with an infernal enemy counting on an armed uprising, on a civil war and on breaking Yugoslavia apart. The headquarters of Kosovo's separatist movement has not yet been found, Colakovic reminded. Coming out in favour of conducting, parallel with security forces action in Kosovo, a political action, too, so as to make it clear for a part of the ethnic Albanian population manipulated by separatists that recent changes in the Republic of Serbia's Constitution do not change the position of ethnic Albanians.

The resistance put up by ethnic Albanian nationalists and separatists to constitutional changes in Serbia grew early this week into clashes with security men in several towns in Kosovo. The clashes took the toll of 24 people killed, two members of the forces of law and order among them, and more than a hundred people got wounded. A curfew has been in force in Kosovo since four days ago.

During the four-hour debate in Kosovo at the session of the Yugoslav Socialist Alliance's Presidency light was shed on all aspects of the latest goings-on in Kosovo.

In the opinion of Dr. Stanko Radmilovic, a member of Yugoslavia's party Presidency, disorders in Kosovo have taken on the character of an armed rebellion with elements of city guerrilla. Pointing out that demonstrations by ethnic Albanian nationalists are tantamount to a clash with Yugoslavia, Radmilovic said that they are aimed at instigating a rebellion of all ethnic Albanians.

Slobodan Tadjin, deputy Yugoslav minister of the interior, did not rule out a possibility of fresh demonstrations in Kosovo in the coming days, while Ket. Gen. Milan Daljevic warned against the counter-revolutionary forces of ethnic Albanian separatists attempts to get infiltrated into the Yugoslav Peoples Army as well.

One cannot remain indifferent to losses of so many young lives, Joze Smole, president of the Republic of Slovenia's Socialist Alliance, said for his part. Drawing attention to Slovenia's efforts to have difficulties in

Yugoslavia solved by peaceful democratic ways, he said that Slovenia's Socialist Alliance is against violent demonstrations leading to tragedy and losses of human lives in Kosovo.

Albanian separatists would like to break Kosovo away from Yugoslavia, it was also said in the debate.

Daut Jasanica, president of Kosovo's Socialist Alliance, said that a majority of Kosovo's population are in support of the Presidency of Yugoslavia's emergency measures, adding that a great majority of ethnic Albanians did not take part in the latest disorders in Kosovo.

BORBA Rejects Albanian Comments on Kosovo
LD0104130489 Belgrade TANJUG in English
1120 GMT 1 Apr 89

[Text] Belgrade, April 1 (TANJUG)—Yugoslavia has a state of emergency in the autonomous province of Kosovo with which it is not pleased and which is only temporary, but it is illogical that Yugoslavia is being criticized most by Albania, which constantly lives in the conditions of a state of emergency without realistic possibilities of getting rid of it in the near future says the Belgrade daily BORBA today.

By giving biased comments on the situation in Kosovo, Tirana shows a patronizing attitude towards ethnic Albanians in Yugoslavia and spurs unrealistic dreams about a greater Albania among the young people poisoned with chauvinism and separatism, the daily adds.

Commenting on the claims made by the Tirana daily ZERI I POPULLIT that "no law protects the Albanians now, they are at the mercy of tanks," BORBA stresses that the special measures in Kosovo, which nobody wanted, had abolished some rights of Kosovo residents, but equally for everyone—for ethnic Albanians, Serbs, Montenegrins and everybody else.

BORBA stresses that if an ethnic Albanian living in Kosovo gets "fed up with terrorizing," he can pick up his passport and leave, while an Albanian living in Albania cannot travel over the border in order to "see for himself that he is living in the best possible of all worlds. he is not likely ever to get a passport.

"Tired of terrorizing," an ethnic Albanian in Kosovo can go to church or a mosque and seek consolation in the almighty, while an Albanian in Albania cannot "thank God or Allah for living in such a prosperous country," since the churches have been closed and torn down, and religion abolished by a state decree, BORBA recalls.

Albanians, as well as other members of nationalities in Yugoslavia, can be elected to the highest posts—such as state, party or parliament president. "We would like to see, for example, a single member of the Greek national minority in Albania elected at least as head of local authorities," BORBA notes.

The Yugoslav daily concludes that the Tirana attacks on Yugoslav policy in Kosovo are both a measure of support to ethnic Albanian separatists and an attempt to mobilize the world public opinion to their aid, just as they are an attempt to rally the Albanian public around its own leadership under an alleged "Slavic threat."

Slovenian Election for SFRY Presidency Held

Outcome Forecast

LD0204090289 Belgrade TANJUG in English
2319 GMT 1 Apr 89

[Text] Ljubljana, April 1 (TANJUG)—Yugoslavia's Republic of Slovenia, with a population of two million, will go to the polls on Sunday to elect by secret ballot its representative to the eight-member Yugoslav state Presidency who will become the country's next president in mid-May under the current rotation system.

The two proposed candidates, one of whom will succeed current Yugoslav head of state Raif Dizdarevic, are Marko Bulc, 63, an experienced politician and businessman, and Janez Drnovsek, 39, an economist and Slovenia's delegate to federal parliament, so far little known to the Yugoslav public.

Bulc is being given distinct advantage in all forecasts of the outcome of the voting, the first of its kind in Yugoslav practice.

He advocates, among other things, market economy, the curbing of inflation by cutting state expenditures, genuine democratization in the country and its greater turning towards Europe.

Drnovsek lays emphasis on the dinar becoming convertible in the next five years and urgent negotiations with the European Free Trade Association which he said would be the first step towards Yugoslav joining the European Community.

He also favours political democratization, independent courts and protection of the individual against abuse by state institutions.

On the basis of the election results, the leadership of the republican Socialist Alliance will on Monday propose to the Slovenian Assembly the republic's candidate for the Yugoslav Presidency.

Of Yugoslavia's six republics and two autonomous provinces, the citizens of the Republic of Montenegro are the only ones besides the Slovenians who will directly elect their representative to the collective state leadership.

The electorate in this smallest Yugoslav republic will on April 9 choose between three candidates: Former president of the Socialist Alliance of Yugoslavia Nenad Bucin, delegate to the Federal Assembly and former deputy prime minister Mijat Sukovic and Army Colonel Dimitrije Baucal.

In the remaining four republics and Serbia's Autonomous Provinces of Vojvodina and Kosovo, elections for members of the Yugoslav Presidency will be held, according to the practice so far, in the republican and provincial Assemblies without any prior direct vote by the electorate.

Serbia is the only republic which has already elected its representative to the Presidency. Among the three proposed candidates, the republican assembly voted for its President Borisav Jovic.

Yugoslav party leader Stipe Suvar is one of Croatia's two candidates for the State Presidency.

Drnovsek Unofficial Winner

LD0304100889 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service
in Serbo-Croatian 0855 GMT 3 Apr 89

[Summary] Ljubljana, 3 April (TANJUG)—The 39-year old doctor of economics, Janez Drnovsek, has received a majority 56 percent of the votes cast in the election for the member of the SFRY Presidency from the Socialist Republic of Slovenia. According to the latest, but still unofficial, information released by the Slovene Republican Electoral Commission, the other candidate, Marko Bulc, received 41 percent of the vote. Of the 1,470,000 voters in all Slovene municipalities, 87.5 percent went to the polls.

Slovene Assembly Discusses Major Issues

Constitutional Change Addressed

LD2903200189 Belgrade TANJUG in English
1830 GMT 29 Mar 89

[Text] Ljubljana, March 29 (TANJUG)—Chairman of the Assembly of Slovenia Constitutional Commission Miran Potrc said at today's session of the republican assembly that the forthcoming changes to the republican assembly should create conditions for a more comprehensive formation of an efficacious and politically democratic modern society and consolidate the sovereignty and responsibility of the Slovene people in the Yugoslav Federative Community of nations and nationalities. Changes to the Slovenian Constitution neither are nor can they be an adjustment to federal amendments, but are, rather, a creative formulation of original solutions, Potrc said.

As questions outstanding Potrc listed direct elections, non-party political pluralism, cherishing of the role of the Socialist Alliance and transformation of the assembly's Socio-Political Committee into a general political

committee, and said that it should be determined whether to strengthen assembly rule or to retain the special role of the Presidency of the Republic of Slovenia.

In an ensuing debate in the Slovenian parliament, delegates said it was necessary to examine the adequacy of the very basic constitutional principles, since changes to the political system formed the basis for affirming a new economic system it is also necessary to define the lasting right of the Slovene people to self-determination, including the right to secession and economic sovereignty of Slovenia.

The delegates decided that the text of the amendments to the Slovenian Constitution be drafted at the next session of the republican assembly on April 14.

Sociopolitical Situation Viewed

*LD0204185889 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service
in Serbo-Croatian 1212 GMT 2 Apr 89*

[Text] Ljubljana, 2 April (TANJUG)—The Slovene Assembly does not see the way out of the social crisis in Yugoslavia to be in enforced equality but in the pluralization of Slovene and Yugoslavia society, comprehensive development of our nations and nationalities, and in the full affirmation of our citizens.

This is one of the conclusions of the Slovene Assembly, which during its last session [30 Mar] discussed the current sociopolitical situation in the country and the implementation of the program on Kosovo. The stands were adopted on the basis of the introductory reports by Stane Dolanc, vice president of the SFRY Presidency, Janez Stanovnik, president of the Slovene Presidency, Joze Knez, vice president of the [Slovene] Republican Assembly, and in the light of the discussion statements by the delegates of all three chambers.

Attention is drawn in the fairly extensive stands, among other things, to the fact that the efforts to carry out the reforms—the social, the economic and the political reform—must not be stopped. The economic reform must again be given as much attention as is given to the relations in the federation and to the reform of our political system. The program of the new Federal Executive Council is supported. The primary concern and responsibility of all the republics and provinces must be to create the conditions whereby we can become part, on an equal footing, of the new economic relations in Europe and in the world.

This cannot be attained only on the basis of economic laws and of the entrepreneurial interest in the business activity of our economy. For this reason the cancellation of business relations for political reasons amounts to unconstitutional conduct because it is at variance with the unity of the Yugoslav market and our reform efforts.

The stands of the Assembly of the Socialist Republic of Slovenia insist that the republic, as the state of the Slovene nation and everyone living in Slovenia, and the SFRY as an equal community of our nations and nationalities, must be resolutely and creatively strengthened and developed. In Yugoslavia all important social issues—especially the issues that are the condition for the survival and development of our national identity and sovereignty—will be resolved in a democratic way through reciprocal negotiations on an equal footing, full respect for the interest of every nation and nationality and on the basis of agreement of their legitimate and legally elected organs.

The Slovene Assembly stands note that the current policy in Kosovo has obviously not produced the expected results. On a long-term basis the greatest responsibility devolves on the inhabitants of Kosovo, especially the Albanians and a majority nationality in the Socialist Autonomous Province of Kosovo, the Serbian people as the majority nation in the Socialist Republic of Serbia and all the working people and citizens. Affirmation of the state based on law and of equality in Kosovo is our common concern.

Only in this way it will be possible to isolate the greater Albanian separatist nationalists and also prevent the spread of Serbian and Montenegrin nationalism, say the Assembly stands.

A long term solution for the situation in Kosovo is only possible by consolidating the reciprocal trust of the people living there by democratic means and by equal respect for human rights regardless of national membership, note the stands of the Slovene Assembly.

Having noted that Slovenia has always been against the imposition of the logic of special measures and of the state of emergency, the stands describe the task to remove the reasons for the introduction of special measures as being our paramount objective. All the citizens of Kosovo are appealed to with their activity, the activity of legal institutions, and in a democratic way—not by force—to prevent the loss of invaluable lives. Slovenia will persist in the implementation of its own tasks and commitments regarding the implementation of the program on Kosovo, which must be reassessed and amplified.

The citizens in Slovenia have not yet been satisfactorily, comprehensively, or in a timely fashion informed of the reasons that provided the rationale to the SFRY Presidency for its action in introducing special measures, say the stands. For this reason, the Slovene Assembly suggests the SFRY Presidency publish at once and in toto the report by SFRY Presidency Member Lazar Mojsov.

In connection with the special measures, the Slovene Assembly believes that the SFRY Presidency is assuming all the responsibility for a correct and objective assessment of the reasons for the introduction of these measures and for the constitutions, as well as for legal use of the powers for this action. It also says that objective current reports about the situation following the introduction of special measures are required, that the constitutional and legal framework of the introduction of special measures must be reexamined, and that the SFRY Assembly and the SFRY Presidency must denounce—with equal resolve as in the case of any attempt to violate the territorial integrity of the state—the attempts to virtually change the federation of sovereign and equal nations into a federation of majorized nations and nationalities [a federation in which the nations with built-in numerical majority will be able to impose their will on the other].

The Slovene Assembly most resolutely rejects the accusations, criticism, and innuendos in connection with the situation in the republic and its attitude toward Yugoslavia. No counterrevolution is operating in Slovenia, stressed the assembly stands. We are not supporting the irredentists in Kosovo and we do not oppose the Constitution [the formation] of the Socialist Republic of Serbia. There is no organized activity in Slovenia with the aim of undermining the role of the Yugoslav People's Army [YPA] as laid down by the Constitution or the federal system of the SFRY. The quest for a pluralistic society is not a tacit approval for the emergence of a multiparty system. The YPA is an armed force common to us all, say the stands.

We reject the 14 March Federal Executive Council report about attacks on the YPA and we suggest that this assessment not be discussed in the SFRY Assembly, demands the assembly of the Socialist Republic of Slovenia.

At the same time, the Assembly of the Slovenian Socialist Republic has asked the appropriate organs in the republic to prepare their own assessment and table it before the SFRY Assembly, with a view to discussion.

We have nothing to add or take away from the joint statement which we adopted at Cankar Hall and which was signed by the citizens of Slovenia en masse, say the stands. The assembly also refutes the untruths, criticism, and malicious suggestions at Slovenia's expense. No one has the right to use these methods in an attempt to destabilize the political and security situation in the republic or anywhere else for that matter.

We wish cooperation based on an equal footing, creative and cogently argued dialogue, and a democratic discussion on all the issues. A democratic synthesis alone, as well as the joint accord of equal and sovereign nations can be a basis for an essentially renewed substance of our life together and of our relations. In conclusion, the assembly advocates the consolidation of all forms of

cooperation with other republics and provinces, especially in twin municipalities. This cooperation must be based on patient and cogently argued dialogue and on consolidation of reciprocal trust and understanding.

Slovene LC Commissions Examine Reforms
AU0204202089 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian
25-26 Mar 89 p 13

[TANJUG report: "Asymmetry in Thoughts"]

[Text] Ljubljana, 24 Mar—The rejection of the document entitled the "Basic Direction of the Transformation of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia [LCY]" in some parts of the country before the document has even been adopted or publicly published is proof that the reform of the LCY is exceptionally important. This was stressed today at a joint session of two commissions of the Central Committee of the League of Communists [LC] of Slovenia: The Commission for Ideological and Theoretical Work and the Commission for Organization, Development, Cadre Policy, and Ideological and Political Training. The participants in the session said that the impression was that this kind of criticism emphasized the "asymmetric situation" in Yugoslavia in advance, which is to say one's own "correct vision of the development of the LCY and the way out of the crisis." Therefore the discussion about the above-mentioned document should proceed from a democratic, patient, and well-argued dialogue, and the full equality of all sections of the LCY. In brief, the document should plead more for the democratic "rules of the game," the session concluded today.

The participants in the discussion also analyzed the recently published document of the Slovene LC on the transformation of the Slovene LC. As regards the federal "platform," it was assessed that it gives too much prominence to the Yugoslav "average" and that it does not accept and recognize enough the legal and objective differences among the federal units which stem from legitimate historic, development, and other differences. While in Slovenia, for instance, efforts are already being made to demonopolize the LC, the Yugoslav "average" emphasizes the "directive" role of the party. While the transformation of the Slovene LC is relying on the affirmation of the individual, that is to say the members, and on democratic relations and polite dialogue, other parts of the LCY insist on the principle of democratic centralism which, it is said, represents an ideological "band-aid," and that it in fact no longer binds anybody in the country.

Account of Montenegrin LC Plenum Proceedings
LD0104192389 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service
in Serbo-Croatian 1107 GMT 1 Apr 89

[Excerpts] Titograd, 1 Apr (TANJUG)—The financial illiquidity of the majority of production collectives is seriously endangering the economy of the republic, stressed Dr Veselin Vukotic, submitting the introductory

speech at today's session of the Montenegrin League of Communists [LC] Central Committee, which is devoted to an analysis of the current economic situation in this part of the country and to establishing the tasks of Communists in the implementation of economic reform.

The shortage of money, stressed the coordinator in the Presidium of the top republican party forum, represents a malaise not just of the Montenegrin, but of the Yugoslav economy, and it is becoming clear to everyone that the more money we print, the greater the demand for it grows, which is, in fact, confirmation of the fact that in conditions of high inflation, a stable economic policy cannot be pursued.

Turning to specific conditions in the republic, in which the indicators of economic activity at the beginning of this year show that it increasingly difficult to maintain continuity in the production of material goods, Dr Vukotic stressed that the lack of turnover and investment resources is limiting development, and the low personal incomes of employees are not only weakening their motivation for more productive work, but causing anxiety, dissatisfaction, and even fear of social insecurity.

Dr Vukotic also pointed out that the misfortunes in which the Montenegrin economy finds itself cannot be interpreted as a consequence of the January events in this republic, that is of the changes which were carried out in the political leadership and the alleged idleness which had seized industrial elements. He characterized such thoughts and assessments as a blanket view, stressing at the same time that continuity in production had not been interrupted because of the protest meetings, nor had the results achieved at the start of this year been worse than previous ones. On the contrary, Dr Vukotic stressed, in many collectives, work discipline has increased and people have a more responsible attitude toward their everyday tasks.

"It is obvious that the worker will want to work only if there are jobs. How to employ him is a question of knowledge and capability among the leaders. Those who claim that everything would be milk and honey here had it not been for the January events are—besides the fact that in saying this they are also saying a lot about themselves—spreading defeatism and are in direct conflict with the political assessments made during the recent events not only by the Central Committee, but also by all the municipal LC committees in Montenegro," Dr Veselin Vukotic stated. [passage omitted]

The first participant in the discussion, Drago Sofranc, refuted certain assessments made in the documents prepared for this session about the business activity of the Radoje Dakic enterprise at the start of the year.

The Titograd metalworkers, Sofranc said, in the last 3 months achieved production 30 percent greater than last year over the same period, and so the assessment that at the beginning of the fiscal year we are not meeting our planned obligations cannot be valid. [passage omitted]

The extremely serious economic and social conditions in the country and in Montenegro are completely overshadowed by the dramatic political situation, said Montenegrin LC Central Committee member Dr Todor Bakovic, opening the discussion on the political situation in Yugoslavia and Montenegro at today's session of the top party forum of the republic. In an introductory speech, he noted that Yugoslavia is experiencing its most serious crisis to date, but he also expressed the opinion that following the adoption of the amendments to the Serbian Constitution, it is making a transition to a more calm path. With the adoption of the amendments, Kosovo has become a legal province, Serbia has become an equal republic, and Yugoslavia has become stronger and more united. Only the counterrevolution has experienced a loss, stressed Bakovic, adding that now the organs of the federation and of the Socialist Autonomous Province of Kosovo are forced and obliged to apply all legal and judicial means to prevent counterrevolution running wild, to ensure order and peace for citizens of all nationalities in Kosovo, to establish legal order, and to preserve the integrity of Yugoslavia.

Bakovic also stated that in the conflicts between republican nationalisms in the country, the terrorists in Kosovo had gained direct and indirect support, and in this he saw the reason why the battle for Yugoslavia is being fought in Kosovo, and why the battle for Kosovo is being fought throughout Yugoslavia. Bakovic went on to note that the official Kosovo leadership had led organized Albanian nationalism, separatism, and counterrevolution. In his opinion, this is the reason why too much time had been wasted in the search for the leadership of the counterrevolution. The explanation of why the Kosovo agony has lasted so long lies in the coinciding of the official political leadership and the leadership of the counterrevolution, as well as in the direct, indirect, permanent, and finally public support for the Kosovo counterrevolution, in the first place within the country, as well as abroad and, of course, in the People's Republic of Albania. One form of support for the counterrevolution in Kosovo was given by the participants in the public meeting in Cankar Hall, Bakovic stressed.

We do not remember the comrades in Slovenia ever before in any organized way expressing their protest and making their voices heard against emigration, humiliation, and the physical endangerment of Serbs and Montenegrins in Kosovo. They did not gather signatures and hold meetings because of any other frightening events in the province. All this, Bakovic said, shows a selective and differentiating application of democracy, humanism, and solidarity which basically has, in fact, other, above all, political aims.

It is undeniable that the meeting in Cankar Hall, judging by what was said there, was in complete opposition to the LCY program on Kosovo, and that it was an unnecessary and politically damaging step which caused great political harm, in the first place to the Slovene people. We are convinced that the Slovene people do not stand behind the concept of democracy they are offered by a handful of envoys of European bourgeois politics, Bakovic said.

Nevertheless, he believed that the meeting in Ljubljana, as well as acting as a detonator for the forceful explosion of national dissatisfaction in Montenegro, Serbia, Vojvodina and other parts of the country, in fact had, indirectly, a positive reflection on the political situation in this republic. Above all, the meeting again brought about the mass involvement of the Montenegrin people, and proved that the people have become a force which must in the future be included in the calculations of both friends and enemies. At the same time, the meeting opened the eyes of many doubting Thomases who are still undecided, above all those from the administrative structures in Montenegro who had still not settled their accounts with the old, replaced, leading team. New it is clear to those who they had been flirting with politically and who had been supporting them and why, Bakovic said.

At the end of his introductory speech, Bakovic assessed the current political situation in Montenegro as satisfactory, while warning that there are too many serious problems that cannot be immediately resolved and whose negative effects will be felt over a long period. In the current situation in Montenegro, there are more and more positive elements, which is truly encouraging and which points to the correct and justified nature of the strong democratic force which began to materialize in October last year and January this year. Since January, the ship of Montenegrin policy has been sailing the deep waters of democracy, and favorable political winds have been filling its sails, Bakovic said.

In the discussion which ensued, full support was given to the measures undertaken by the SFRY Presidency and the LCY Central Committee Presidium in Kosovo, and tribute was paid to the security organs for their effective and energetic action against the forces of counterrevolution.

Milan Gajovic stressed that the extraordinary measures in Kosovo in 1981 had been quickly lifted, which had contributed to the counterrevolution continuing its work unhindered. This should not be allowed to happen this time, he said; rather, the extraordinary measures should remain in force for as long as necessary to overcome the causes of counterrevolution. Gajovic criticized the leadership of the Socialist Republic of Slovenia for not opposing in an adequate way the support from this republic to the Albanian counterrevolutionaries, above all from the Slovene Social Democratic Alliance, and the Writers Association Presidium.

Miodrag Grbovic, LCY Central Committee Presidium member, spoke in detail about the current situation in Kosovo, making the assessment that recent events in that province had shown that this was a case of a very dangerous, well-organized enemy, arrogant and prepared in its fanaticism to achieve the counterrevolutionary goals of Albanian separatists and nationalists. He stressed that the direct intervention by the police in Kosovo had been a necessity, but that things should not remain simply at the level of repressive measures; instead, political action must be intensified and all other measures undertaken to revive overall social and political life and to stabilize the situation in the province.

Branko Kostic said that the basic reason for the situation which has arisen in Yugoslavia should be sought in the very delayed reaction by the political leadership of the country and in the delay in achieving political unity over the issue of the constitutional position of Serbia and the resolution of the Kosovo drama. Because of these things, there followed the only thing that could have followed, said Kostic—mass politicization of the people and a stormy expression of their rebellion. The basic aim of this was precisely what the top political leadership of the country had an inadequate ear for. In his opinion, a vital condition for the realization of the envisaged reforms and the creation of the conditions for the successful development of society is the achievement of essential political unity, the calming of political passions, and the creation of a normal political climate and atmosphere. [passage omitted]

Turning once again to the events of October and January in Montenegro, Milo Djukanovic said that it was more than clear that they had marked a break with the barren and alienated policy which had been pursued for years and decades in this republic. He characterized those events as the start of the forceful democratization of Montenegrin society, despite certain misunderstandings, often intentional, and malicious interpretations in certain parts of the country. Citing some prejudices about the events in Montenegro, such as the allegation about the Serbianization of Montenegro; the restoration of the kingdom of the Serbs, Croats and Slovenes; religious divisions as a decisive factor in national orientation; and other, similar allegations, Djukanovic stressed that this was not a coincidence or lack of information, but rather, a tried political recipe for clouding the issues and manipulating the public.

Concluding the discussion, Dr. Veselin Vukotic stated that despite encouraging signs of a certain calming of the political situation in Montenegro and Yugoslavia, the situation in the country continues to be characterized by an absence of unity on a number of vital issues. He stressed that efforts must constantly be made to overcome disunity, but not on the basis of some kind of compromise, or of remaining silent, but above all by means of clear and argued stances on sensitive issues. Describing the situation in Kosovo as still the most sensitive and most urgent issue in Yugoslavia,

Vukotic expressed full support for the measures of the SFRY Presidency being undertaken in the province, and expressed the conviction that in this way conditions will also be created for effective political action.

Calls for Extraordinary Congress

LD0104141989 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1316 GMT 1 Apr 89

[Text] Titograd, 1 Apr (TANJUG)—Today the Montenegrin League of Communists [LC] Central Committee unanimously adopted a resolution that the next League of Communists of Yugoslavia [LCY] Congress should be extraordinary and that it should be held as soon as possible, by the end of the year at the latest. Today's session of the Montenegrin LC Central Committee stated that the basic concern of the second highest gathering of Yugoslav Communists should be economic reform.

New Delegates Named

LD0104192589 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1343 GMT 1 Apr 89

[Text] Titograd, 1 Apr (TANJUG)—Today the Montenegrin League of Communists Central Committee replaced its delegates in the republican assembly. Instead of Vesna Karadzic, Spiro Mitrovic, and Velisav Vukсанovic, who, after the recent resignations, lost the right to represent this forum, Milan Jagovic, Svetozar Marovic, and Dr Damjan Seckovic have been appointed as delegates in the Montenegrin Assembly.

LCY Presidium Addresses Next Congress

LD3103205189 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1333 GMT 31 Mar 89

[Excerpts] Belgrade, 31 Mar (TANJUG)—The forthcoming LCY congress will be held by the end of the year. Its topic will be 'Social Reforms and the LCY Role.' Republican (LC) [League of Communists] congresses, provincial (LC) conferences and an LC conference in the YPA [Yugoslav People's Army] will be held before the federal congress.

These were the main stances adopted unanimously today at a session of the LCY Central Committee Presidium. However, the Presidium did not adopt a stance about the character of the congress, that is, whether it would be regular or extraordinary. The next LCY Central Committee session, to be held on 14 April, will decide about the nature of the congress on the basis the LCY Statute and previous consultations in republican and provincial LC bodies and the YPA LC organization.

At today's session, the Presidium submitted a list of 63 members of the Congress Preparations Committee. The list includes all members of the LCY Central Committee Presidium and the commissions for information and for the ideological basis of addenda and amendments to the LCY Statute.

According to a proposal by the Presidium, election of delegates for the next congress will be held according to the election criteria for the 13th congress. The next session will adopt deadlines for completion of congress documents.

Discussing the initiative launched during the extraordinary session of the Vojvodina LC to convene an extraordinary LCY congress, the members of the LCY Central Committee Presidium agreed on what is already known—to hold the congress in the second half of December. However, differences emerged with regard to the character of the congress, which is obviously linked not just with the interpretation of statutory provisions, but also with the question of whether the reasons for the extraordinary nature of the next congress, as supported by some LC leadership, or a regular one, as argued by the others, are opportunistic from a political point of view. It is important to point out that all the participants in today's discussion noted that the demand voiced by Vojvodina Communists for an extraordinary congress is legitimate and in line with the statute, but that the reservations voiced concern the explanation of the demand.

Explaining the stand of the LCY conference in the YPA, Petar Simic said that the assessment of the LCY leadership regarding the demand of Vojvodina Communists was inadequate, and that as such it could not be submitted to the next congress. The LC in the YPA accepts the basic theme of the 14th LCY Congress, but stresses that emphasis should be on the transformation of the LCY. [passage omitted]

Speaking on behalf of those who submitted the demand for an extraordinary congress, Nedeljko Sipovac reiterated the stand adopted at the extraordinary conference of the Vojvodina LC, which explains reasons for an extraordinary congress. [passage omitted]

Assessing the initiative of Vojvodina Communists as completely in line with the statute, Stanko Stojcevic expressed support for the idea that the 14th LCY Congress should be held by the end of the year. He also argued about some interpretations of the statute, adding that the Vojvodina LC conference used only one element, i.e., it defined its own stand and demand for an extraordinary congress. [passage omitted]

Slobodan Milosevic asked why discussion was necessary on whether the congress should be regular or extraordinary, because the only LCY organ which has the right to interpret the statute is the Statutory Commission, which is precise and clear in its interpretation. [passage omitted]

Milan Kucan said that without denying the right of every part of the LCY to present its own initiative for the holding of an extraordinary congress implies responsibility for the consequences and for the success or failure of the congress. He also said that he is against any

additional arguments. Stressing that this would be the first extraordinary congress in the history of the LCY, Kucan recalled the initiatives in other parts of the LC which refer to holding the congress by the end of the year. He believes that the real reasons for holding an extraordinary congress were not launched at the extraordinary Vojvodina LC Conference, at least not all of them. In this respect, he mentioned both the reforms and Kosovo, as well as the attitude currently manifested in the 1974 Constitution. "This is a serious political problem for the LCY," Kucan stressed.

According to him, not even the present circumstances can be a reason for an extraordinary congress. This LCY, or more precisely the Communist Party of Yugoslavia, did not hold an extraordinary congress, even after the Cominform, though the circumstances were extraordinary. We need to continue regular work in order to solve our social problems and make the congress succeed. It will be a political catastrophe for the LCY and for society if the congress is not successful.

Does anyone need proof that this LCY is not capable of carrying out and does not have the strength to carry out its tasks and obligations in a regular procedure, Kucan asked. Does anyone need proof that the emergency situation in one part of the country may spread to other parts, calling for an emergency government and emergency assembly, and turning our country into some kind of a country with emergency methods for implementing regular duties?

Kucan, not accepting the assessments of Vojvodina Communists on the LCY leadership, said that lack of unity in the LCY Central Committee and its Presidium is above all a reflection of the lack of unity in republican and provincial organizations. As far as trust or lack of trust are concerned, he asked whether the lack of trust is based on facts or misinformation, tendentious information, lies, and insinuations. Who is responsible for this? [passage indistinct] [passage omitted] Stressing that differences in views on specific social processes within the LCY cannot be solved quickly and by an undemocratic method—especially not by proclamations on the principle, one member, one vote—because this can have fatal consequences for the communist idea, movement, and organization, Kucan pointed out that the congress could be successful if it respects the continuity of efforts concerning reforms, charted in the 13th congress and conference; in other words, if there is no continuity regarding dogmatism, etatism, and bureaucracy, the logic of a state, party, and political monopoly and monism. The important thing is to reach the so-called Yugoslav synthesis concerning key issues, which would ensure a democratic adoption of the strategy of the way out of the crisis, and embarkment on the trends of modern world civilization. The content of the congress, Kucan concluded, must provide a reply to the question of how to transform the LCY so that it becomes capable

of an all-national movement for a new socialism in Yugoslavia, socialism befitting a man, and not socialism befitting a nation. [passage omitted]

Winding up the discussion on the initiative of Vojvodina Communists, Stipe Suvar presented the unanimous stand that the congress would be held by the end of the year, and that its main theme would be social reforms and the role of the League of Communists. As far as convening the congress is concerned, this decision is left to the Central Committee. Whatever it may be, we must step up preparations for it, act and behave in such a way so as not to further aggravate the situation, Suvar said. Even without the initiative of Vojvodina Communists, the LCY Central Committee would have been faced in the following days with making a decision on the congress, because a proposal for a premature congress was also made by some other LC leaderships. "We should not create a conviction in the party and in society that parts of the LC are in favor of an energetic change in the LC through an extraordinary congress, while parts allegedly oppose it. It is not so. Even if it were, it would be very dangerous for the LC, as it would lead to a split. It is important, while respecting everyone's statutory rights, that no one dictate anyone when it comes to specific parts of the LCY," Suvar said.

After a lengthy discussion on a draft decision on the method of preparations, character, content, and proceedings of the LCY congress, the LCY Central Committee Presidium adopted a number of draft documents which will be submitted to the LCY Central Committee for its next session, scheduled for 14 April. In this respect, the Presidium adopted the draft decision on convening the LCY congress by the end of the year, and on its main theme—social reform and the role of the LC. It was proposed that the Congress Preparation Committee number 63 members, including all members of the LCY Central Committee Presidium. Commissions for coverage and for amendments and addenda to the LCY Statute were also formed. The election of delegates to the next congress will be held according to the procedure used for the 13th congress, according to the proposal of the Presidium.

A discussion on the reform of the LCY, which should have been held today, will be held at the next LCY Central Committee Presidium session.

Airlines Office in Sweden 'Demolished'
LD3103115489 Belgrade TANJUG in English
1027 GMT 31 Mar 89

[Text] Goteborg, March 31 (TANJUG)—The Yugoslav Airlines JAT office in the very centre of the Swedish town of Goteborg was demolished by unidentified persons last night.

Stones and other hard objects were used to break the glass on the doors and windows of the JAT office. Significant material damage was caused.

A police investigation is underway.

Explosion Hits POLITIKA Office in Osijek

LD0204075189 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0632 GMT 2 Apr 89

[Text] Osijek, 2 Apr (TANJUG)—There was a strong explosion last evening at about 2100 [1900 GMT] outside POLITIKA's office in Osijek in the Setaliste Veljka Vlahovica 8-C Street. The explosive was planted in the office's window.

The explosion blew out the window, shattering glass in the nearby offices of VECERNJE NOVOSTI, BORBA, and DALMA. No one was injured, and cost of the damage has not been estimated yet.

Media Agree To Promote Dialogue in Country

LD3103122189 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2020 GMT 30 Mar 89

[Text] Belgrade, 31 Mar (TANJUG)—How can the media contribute to overcoming the present difficult political and economic situation in the country? What is the media's responsibility for inciting or cooling the mounting passions and quarrels which sometimes assume irrational proportions? Although the prime responsibility for the country's situation lies in the sphere of politics, the press also has its share of responsibility, since it neither creates enough room for democratic and tolerant dialogue nor abides by its own professional and moral norms. Is the press able to turn itself around, to face up to its responsibility and use its (powerful) [TANJUG punctuation] influence so that we can focus on resolving strategic development issues, such as Kosovo, reforms, qualitative preparations for congresses, and the ninth nonaligned summit?

These are some of the questions asked and conclusions drawn at a meeting today for the directors and editors-in-chief of radio and TV stations as well as leading dailies and weeklies.

The talks, which were held in two "stages" (first with radio and TV and then with the press), lasted for almost 8 hours and were attended by the top officials of the Yugoslav party: Stipe Suvar, Stefan Korosec, Vasil Tupurkovski, and Dusan Ckrebic. The "blame" for its length should, however, be put on the protagonists of the public word, who wasted no time in criticizing the LC [League of Communists] leaders, pointing to a lack of unity over key issues of our further development and the present situation—Kosovo, democracy, political pluralism, the character of the Yugoslav federation, etc.

In his introductory address, Marko Lolic, the executive secretary of the LCY [League of Communists of Yugoslavia] Central Committee, spoke extensively about the immediate activities and tasks which should be carried out by the organizations and organs of the LCY, as well as about a plan for the most important media activities

in the aftermath of the latest events in Kosovo. In this context, it is crucial, Lolic said, that the stories about the Albanian community being unequal and endangered and threatened by alleged hegemonism be eliminated. The Albanian-language media in Kosovo have a special role in accomplishing this. Discussion on the press pointed to the need for united, principled, responsible, and objective activity in order to achieve the same goals and tasks and to eliminate divisions, confrontations, and national divisions through the entire Yugoslav information media.

Lolic illustrated the proportions and extent the confrontations have assumed with a series of examples, such as the political situation and political direction in Kosovo, the character of the coming LCY congress, reforms, political pluralism, meetings, coalitions, etc. The press bears its share of responsibility here by deepening many divisions and spreading confusion, although, Lolic added, it is not being dreamed up by the press, but is an expression of deep changes and the relations between the leaders in the LCY. The consequences of such a situation and such tensions are manifold, the gravest ones being tensions and a worsening in intranational relations, as well as the slowing down of economic and similar reforms.

Recalling the stands of the LCY Central Committee Presidium, whereby all the aspects of unprincipled confrontations should end, and the conclusion of the 17th session of the LCY Central Committee about the Communists' tasks in the press, Lolic pointed to the "old" practice whereby an attitude still prevails that "as far as we are concerned," everything is okay and "the others" are to blame, something which results in accolades for the editorial policy of certain newspapers while unforgivable mistakes occur.

Lolic spoke in favor of an end to the media war between parts of the Yugoslav press. Otherwise, we are all going to end up defeated. He also advocated a higher level of civilized dialogue in the press, its "purification" of malice, fabrication, lies, and even open hatred.

Among all the turbulent events, the Kosovo problem is the most pressing, Lolic stressed, and the prime task should be a united and responsible approach to this difficult problem of ours.

Stipe Suvar, LCY Central Committee Presidium president, acquainted the journalists with the most important immediate tasks of the Yugoslav party's top echelon—the LCY Central Committee: There will be two important sessions, the first one, dealing with the reform of the LCY, will be (most probably) on 11 April and the second one in the middle of May, when intranational relations, the brisk political activity envisioned for autumn—republican congresses and provincial conferences and the Yugoslav People's Army LC conference, which will be held on the eve of the December LCY

congress—will be discussed. The character of the congress and the organs which will prepare for it will be the result of decisions made in accordance with the LCY Central Committee's statute. The LCY Central Committee Presidium president recalled a significant anniversary—the 70th anniversary of the CPY [Communist Party of Yugoslavia]/LCY, which will be marked by a formal session of the LCY Central Committee on 19 April. He also suggested that the marking of this event be reminiscent of deeper meaning.

One could derive from the extensive discussion, which was even polemical at certain moments, a common denominator: acknowledging that the "verbal war" has reached a "boiling point"—something to be "credited" to the press as well—the most responsible people in the media demonstrated during today's conversation a complete readiness and willingness to end this "war," to have a more tolerant dialogue, and to facilitate the exchange of true information. To this effect, an agreement was reached for the professionals to continue their dialogue, since the Law on Information itself has been seriously impaired, and the norms and statute of journalists' conduct has been frequently infringed. In regard to this, today's conversation with the most responsible people in the media was, as Vasil Tupurkovski said, only the beginning of an effort to cool off the situation, in which journalists (because of their influence) have a prominent

and important role to play. Stefan Korosec spoke in favor of implementing the things on which an agreement has been reached in order to have a path gradually opened for strategic questions of further development of socialism, democracy, self-management, patriotism—all those principal guidelines for the Yugoslav federation and the integration process.

Electricity Prices Rise 79 Percent in April

*LD3103191189 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service
in Serbo-Croatian 1150 GMT 31 Mar 89*

[Summary] Belgrade, 31 Mar (TANJUG)—The Federal Executive Council [FEC] has decided that beginning tomorrow, prices for pasteurized and homogenized milk will be set by market forces.

The FEC has also decided that the present price of electricity will rise by 79 percent beginning 1 April. Since the so-called summer rate of electricity will be in effect from 1 April, the real increase in the price of electricity will be 19.3 percent in comparison with the present price.

The FEC has decided that the regulation on determining the highest domestic post, telegraph, and telephone charges is no longer valid.

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